RM
Reti Medievali

ARISTOCRATIC NETWORKS. ELITES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN ITALY IN THE AGE OF LOTHAR I

edited by

Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto

FIRENZE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Reti Medievali E-Book

ISSN 2704-6362 (PRINT) | ISSN 2704-6079 (ONLINE)

53

Reti Medievali E-Book

Editors-in-chief
Maria Elena Cortese, University of Bologna, Italy
Roberto Delle Donne, University of Naples Federico II, Italy
Thomas Frank, University of Pavia, Italy
Paola Guglielmotti, University of Genoa, Italy
Vito Loré, Roma Tre University, Italy
Iñaki Martín Viso, University of Salamanca, Spain
Annick Peters Custot, University of Nantes, France
Riccardo Rao, University of Bergamo, Italy
Paolo Rosso, University of Turin, Italy
Alessandro Silvestri, University of Salerno, Italy
Gian Maria Varanini, University of Verona, Italy
Giulia Zornetta, University of Padua, Italy
Andrea Zorzi, University of Florence, Italy

Scientific Board
Enrico Artifoni, University of Turin, Italy
María Asenjo González, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain
William J. Connell, Seton Hall University, United States
Pietro Corrao, University of Palermo, Italy
Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, Sorbonne Paris IV University, France
Christoph Dartmann, University of Hamburg, Germany
Stefano Gasparri, University of Venice Ca' Foscari, Italy
Patrick Geary, Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, United States
Jean-Philippe Genet, Panthéon-Sorbonne Paris 1 University, France
Knut Görich, University of Munich Ludwig Maximilian, Germany
Julius Kirshner, University of Chicago, United States
Maria Cristina La Rocca, University of Padua, Italy
Michel Lauwers, Côte d'Azur University, France
Isabella Lazzarini, University of Turin, Italy
Annliese Nef, Panthéon-Sorbonne Paris 1 University, France
Beatrice Pasciuta, University of Palermo, Italy
Annick Peters Custot, University of Nantes, France
Giuseppe Petralia, University of Pisa, Italy
Walter Pohl, Universität Wien, Austria
Flocel Sabaté, University of Lleida, Spain
Roser Salicru i Lluch, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Barcelona, Spain
Francesco Vincenzo Stella, University of Siena, Italy
Giuliano Volpe, University of Bari Aldo Moro, Italy
Chris Wickham, All Souls College, Oxford, United Kingdom

Peer-review
All published e-books are double-blind peer reviewed at least by two referees.
Their list is regularly updated at URL: http://www.serena.unina.it/index.php/rm/referee.
Their reviews are archived.
Ruling in hard times

RULING IN HARD TIMES

Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy

4

Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I

edited by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto

Firenze University Press
2025

Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I / edited by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto. - Firenze : Firenze University Press, 2025.
(Reti Medievali E-Book ; 53)

https://books.fupress.com/isbn/9791221507713

ISSN 2704-6362 (print)
ISSN 2704-6079 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0770-6 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0772-0 (ePUB)
ISBN 979-12-215-0773-7 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

The volume has been published thanks to the contributions of the Department of Humanities of the University of Trento and the Ministry of University and Research, Project of Relevant National Interest, call for proposals 2017 - project code 2017ETHP5S, *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*. The project leader is Giuseppe Albertoni (University of Trento); the editors of the volume, Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto, are members of the unit of research at University of Trento.

Front cover image: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, *Stuttgarter Psalter*, Cod. bibl. fol. 23, f. 158r, 9th Century, public domain.

Peer Review Policy
Peer-review is the cornerstone of the scientific evaluation of a book. All FUP's publications undergo a peer-review process by external experts under the responsibility of the Editorial Board and the Scientific Boards of each series (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice.3).

Referee List
In order to strengthen the network of researchers supporting FUP's evaluation process, and to recognise the valuable contribution of referees, a Referee List is published and constantly updated on FUP's website (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list).

Firenze University Press Editorial Board
M. Garzaniti (Editor-in-Chief), M.E. Alberti, F. Vittorio Arrigoni, E. Castellani, F. Ciampi, D. D'Andrea, A. Dolfi, R. Ferrise, A. Lambertini, R. Lanfredini, D. Lippi, G. Mari, A. Mariani, P.M. Mariano, S. Marinai, R. Minuti, P. Nanni, A. Orlandi, I. Palchetti, A. Perulli, G. Pratesi, S. Scaramuzzi, I. Stolzi.

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice).

The online digital edition is published in Open Access on www.fupress.com.

Content license: except where otherwise noted, the present work is released under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode). This license allows you to share any part of the work by any means and format, modify it for any purpose, including commercial, as long as appropriate credit is given to the author, any changes made to the work are indicated and a URL link is provided to the license.

Metadata license: all the metadata are released under the Public Domain Dedication license (CC0 1.0 Universal: https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/legalcode).

© 2025 Author(s)

Published by Firenze University Press
Firenze University Press
Università degli Studi di Firenze
via Cittadella, 7, 50144 Firenze, Italy
www.fupress.com

This book is printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Italy

Ruling in hard times.
Patterns of power and practices of government
in the making of Carolingian Italy

Project Coordinator Giuseppe Albertoni

1. *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, edited by Gianmarco De Angelis, Francesco Veronese, 2022

2. *Between Ostrogothic and Carolingian Italy. Survivals, revivals, ruptures*, edited by Fabrizio Oppedisano, 2022

3. *Carolingian Frontiers: Italy and Beyond*, edited by Maddalena Betti, Francesco Borri, Stefano Gasparri, 2024

4. *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in the age of Lothar I*, edited by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto, 2025

5. *Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*, edited by Giuseppe Albertoni, Gianmarco De Angelis, Stefano Gasparri, Fabrizio Oppedisano, forthcoming

Contents

Preface, by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto 1
Works cited 6

I. Acting as aristocrats, aspiring to the aristocracy

Being an aristocrat in the kingdom of Italy in the age of Lothar I, by François Bougard 11
1. Introduction 13
2. Aristocracy *vs* elites 14
3. Counts, bishops, and abbots: the immigrant aristocracy, its settlement and its resources 16
4. The second circle: vassals, gastalds, and others 27
5. Social practices: some examples 35
6. Conclusions 38
Works cited 40

Lothar I and the visibility of the female aristocracy, by Cristina La Rocca 45
1. Introduction 46
2. The queen and her integrity 47
3. Fragile women 55

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

4. Conclusions 64
Works cited 66

Writing for aristocrats, writing as aristocrats: notarial strategies and graphic self-representation in the documentation of the elites of the regnum, by Gianmarco De Angelis, Laura Pani 69
1. Introduction 71
2. Between *cartule* and *decreta*: agency, communication, writing patterns 73
3. Writing as aristocrats 82
4. Conclusions 91
Works cited 92

Monasteries in the middle? Local elites and monastic landscapes in Carolingian Lombardy, by Francesco Veronese 95
1. Introduction: monasteries in the middle? 96
2. Can a monastery protected by kings be in the middle? Lothar I, Pavia and S. Maria Teodote 98
3. Between the city and the countryside: monasteries in the middle in Carolingian Milan 103
4. Between a bishop and the lands of his church: Brescia and S. Faustino Maggiore 107
5. Conclusions 111
Works cited 114

Aristocratic land ownership. Land ownership between the centre and the hinterland as represented in the language of notarial deeds, by Anna Rapetti 119
1. Recording land and property 120
2. Landowners in the Venetian Lagoon and the Po Plain 124
3. A developing agrarian landscape 128
4. Rivers and other waters between town and country 132
5. Conclusions 135
Works cited 136

II. Aristocratic networks between center and peripheries

A Carolingian suite: the Supponids in Italy until the death of Lothar (814-855), by Igor Santos Salazar 141
1. Introduction 142
2. A new family in the *regnum* 143
3. The soldier's tale 146
4. *Ministri rei publice* 149
5. Aristocratic ethos 152
6. Beyond Lothar: a conclusion 155
Works cited 158

So far, so close. Lothar I and the interweaving of relationships between the aristocracies of Veneto and Alemannia, by Leonardo Sernagiotto 161
1. A problematic transition 163
2. *Concordia Imperii* 166
3. Bad times, good times 173
4. Arrivederci, Italia! 180
5. Conclusions 182
Works cited 185

Aristocracies in the Tuscany of Lothar I: birth and structuring of a social network, by Paolo Tomei 189
1. Halfway between Siena e Chiusi 192
2. The second cohort 194
3. Vassals and chaplains 197
4. In the area of Tuscania 200
5. Under the marquis' wing 202
Works cited 209

Aiming at the aristocracy: social mobility in Lucca at the time of Lothar I, by Manuel Fauliri 213
1. Introduction 215
2. The Sons of Dundulus 217
3. The Sons of Guntulus 223
4. The Sons of Iltifridus 228
5. Conclusions 229
Appendix 232
Family trees 236
Works cited 238

The aristocracies of Rome in the age of Lothar, by Veronica West-Harling 241
1. Introduction: the absence of a visible Frankish aristocracy in Rome 242
2. What constitutes the "Roman aristocracy"? 244
3. The first Carolingians, the popes and the Roman elites 244
4. Lothar's support of the Roman aristocracies: the crisis of Pope Paschal I 246
5. Lothar's support of the Roman aristocracies: Pope Sergius II and Benedict 250
6. Lothar's supporters and spies: the affair of the two *superista* 252
7. Conclusions 253
Works cited 254

Who wrote the life of Leo IV? Gratian, the superista*, and his network,* by Maddalena Betti 257
1. Preliminary notes on the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) 258
2. The life of Leo IV: a cumbersome first-person narration 259
3. Roman proceres in the life of Leo IV 264

4. Who wrote the life of Leo IV? Gratian, the *superista*, and his network 266
Works cited 271

Aristocracy in Ravenna in the age of Lothar I: integration and historical memory, by Edward M. Schoolman 273
1. Introduction 274
2. Sources 275
3. Lothar, Ravenna, and inconsistent historiography 277
4. Identifying aristocracy in Ravenna's charters 280
5. Conclusion 285
Works cited 287

Framing the Beneventan aristocracy in the first half of the ninth century, by Giulia Zornetta 289
1. Introduction 290
2. Dwelling in the City: *Königsnähe* and participation to public power 293
3. *Fidelitas* and military duties: some notes on Beneventan warrior identity 298
4. Distributing wealth, forging relationships: the patrimonial basis of the Beneventan elite 301
5. Conclusions 305
Works cited 307

Conclusions, by Stefano Gasparri 311
Works cited 319

Index of Persons 321

Index of Place Names and Ethnonyms 331

Preface

by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto

This short preface is divided into two parts. The first aims to recall the research project *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*, to which this volume belongs. The second part recalls the epistemological principles common to the various essays and, in particular, highlights an aspect that characterises them: the desire to move away from a stereotypical opposition between local elites and the "transalpine" *Reichsaristokratie* that has long dominated the study of Carolingian Italy.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Carolingian Italy; emperor Lothar I; elite; aristocracy.

Giuseppe Albertoni, University of Trento, Italy, giuseppe.albertoni@unitn.it, 0000-0001-6670-7509
Manuel Fauliri, University of Trento, Italy, manuel.fauliri@unitn.it, 0000-0003-4669-3239
Leonardo Sernagiotto, University of Padua, Italy, leonardo.sernagiotto@gmail.com, 0000-0002-2904-7959

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto, *Preface*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.02, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 1-7, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

This volume collects the proceedings of a conference held at the Department of Humanities of the University of Trento from 13 to 15 October 2022 as part of the initiatives of the PRIN 2017 project *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*. This was a project structured in four units that operated at the Universities of Trento, Padua, Venice Ca' Foscari and the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa. Each of them developed lines of research on some specific aspects, that were the basis of five conferences, the proceedings of which are published in the series in which this volume is also included: the "memory" of the Gothic kingdom in Carolingian Italy; the role of the bishops and the texts related to them in the networks of which they were part; the political and social dynamics that characterised the border areas; the elites of the kingdom and their networks between centre and periphery; Lothar I and his actions as a ruler[1].

The study of the elites of Carolingian Italy and their networks has been the main focus of the activities of the Trento unit, but given its central importance, it has also involved many members of the other units. We wanted to involve them in the conference, the proceedings of which we are now publishing, together with those who, although not part of our research project, have been in close dialogue with it since its inception. Among the latter, we can count François Bougard, to whom we entrusted a difficult task, which he carried out in the keynote speech he gave at the opening of the 2022 Conference in Trento, and which has now been revised in the opening essay of this volume[2]. This task is summarised in a question that is simple in its formulation, but complex in its answer: what did it mean to be aristocratic in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I?

With this question, which is in fact the basis of all the essays collected in this volume, we wanted first of all to put a time limit on the research presented at the conference, choosing a historical phase of Carolingian rule in Italy that has not been studied in depth, even in recent research, which has concentrated above all on the age of Charlemagne or on the second half of the ninth century[3]. One of the reasons for this historiographical "misfortune" of Lothar I's reign is certainly its complexity and political and institutional ambiguity, which stem from the very difficulty of defining Lothar's role in Italy. In fact, he was associated with the imperial title by his father Louis the Pious, but he is never defined in the sources as *rex Italiae* or *rex Langobardorum*, unlike his predecessors and successors[4].

[1] The following volumes have been published: Oppedisano, *Between Ostrogothic and Carolingian Italy*; De Angelis, Veronese, *Networks of bishops*; Betti, Borri, Gasparri, *Carolingian frontiers*; Albertoni, De Angelis, Gasparri, Oppedisano, *Ruling in hard times* (forthcoming).
[2] Bougard, *Being an aristocrat in the kingdom of Italy in the age of Lothar I* (in this volume).
[3] See, for example, Gantner, Pohl, *After Charlemagne* and Albertoni, Borri, *Spes Italiae*. Even in Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, the peculiarities of the political organisation of Italy during the reign of Lothar I, although present, are not explored in depth.
[4] On these aspects, see Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni, p. 243.

"Sovereign" at the head of a *regnum* without *rex* and co-emperor, always in a situation of subordination or conflict with his father, Lothar was never permanently present in Italy, where he made his debut in 822 under the tutelage of Wala, Charlemagne's influential cousin. Wala had previously been at the side of King Bernard, whose deposition and death after the "revolt" of 817 had allowed Lothar to assume the political leadership of the former *regnum Langobardorum*, after having been king of Bavaria (*rex Baioariae*) for a few years.[5]

The political ambiguity of Lothar I's role in Italy was also due to his intermittent presence, which – before his father's death – was marked by five phases, all of them of short duration, except for the last, which ended in 840 with the death of Louis the Pious and the re-emergence of the conflict with his brothers (822-823; 824-825; 829-830; 831-833; 834-840). It is precisely the intermittent nature of his presence which has, in the past, led to the idea that he was a kind of "foreign body" in the political dynamics of the kingdom, whose ruling class would have been made up of "transalpine immigrants", with minimal involvement of the local elites[6]. Lothar's long absences from Italy and the lack of effective central control in Italy were also seen as the cause of a deterioration in the social situation on the peninsula. In this context, the great secular and ecclesiastical aristocracies would have taken advantage of the lack of central power to strengthen their position at the local level, enriching themselves at the expense of the royal fisc and weakening the "middle class" of free men[7].

But was it really so? Based on an analysis of the lexicon of sources and some case studies, the essays collected here have attempted to reconstruct the forms of political and social prominence and the networks that linked – or opposed – those who, at different levels, exercised forms of power and control over people and territories. These networks could be based on kinship, on different kinds of loyalty, including vassalage, on the exchange of goods and property, on shared lifestyles, and on royal *Königsnähe*[8]. Depending on their nature, these networks could extend from the centre of the kingdom – Pavia or the main royal courts (*curtes*) – to the periphery, or they could be local. These, too, could be of various types, depending on the "pivot" around which they revolved: bishops, abbots or abbesses, counts, major or minor public officials, simple landowners.

[5] On the context of this dramatic "transition", see Patzold, *Zwischen Gerichtsurteil und politischem Mord*.

[6] See for example Hlawitschka, *Franken*. Among the recent challenges to this paradigm within a renewed historiographical perspective on the concept of immigration, see Predatsch, *Migration*.

[7] See for example Fumagalli, *Storia d'Italia,* pp. 26-29; Delogu, *Lombard and Carolingian Italy*, pp. 304-310 and Marrocchi, *Lotario I*.

[8] For a recent analysis of the role played by the *Königsnähe* in the context of studies on the elites, see Patzold, *Integration durch Kommunikation*, pp. 199-200.

In order to do justice to this diversity, but at the same time to study cases that would remain comparable, we have chosen a title for the conference and for this volume that, at first sight, may appear contradictory in the terminology we have used. In fact, the concepts of aristocracy and elite appear in it, which, as François Bougard well reconstructs in the essay that opens our volume, have often been juxtaposed with each other in recent historiography[9]. It is precisely because we are aware of the importance of this debate that we have decided to use both terms in order better to describe the social structure that characterised Carolingian Italy during Lothar's reign, notably by stripping the concept of "aristocracy" of any historical-legal value, obviously anachronistic for this historical phase, and using it in a relational sense to define the highest levels of the elites.

Furthermore, by referring to "elites and social dynamics" in the subtitle, we wanted to emphasise the context in which we were working: the various forms of social prominence. As far as early medieval Italy is concerned, Simone Collavini summarised these forms a few years ago, using a series of indicators that could be political, such as the offices held or the presence in court; social, such as parental relationships and clientelist ties; or patrimonial, such as land ownership distributed over a specific territory[10]. Based on these assumptions, he identified four forms of social and political prominence that belonged to the local or village elites; to the city elites; to the regional and supra-regional elites; and finally, to those who operated at the royal court and who were mostly composed of "transalpine immigrants". Following the proposal of Collavini and other scholars[11], the authors of the essays collected in this volume have attempted to investigate all four of these levels of social prominence, which can be traced back to the common concept of elite, reserving the concept of "aristocracy" for the highest level, fundamental in the management of the kingdom but also in forging bonds and relationships with local, village or city elites.

To make this choice clear, we have divided the essays in the book into two sections. We have called the first *Acting as aristocrats, aspiring to aristocracy* because in it we have analysed the political and social profile of those we can define as "aristocrats" according to what has been said above, identifying the elements of distinction – in some cases already possessed, in others "aspired to" – in social practices such as writing, property management, the exercise of public office or relations with churches and monasteries.

The second section, on the other hand, is entitled *Aristocratic networks between centre and peripheries*, as it investigates a number of case studies that allow us to understand how local elites connected with the regional or

[9] See Bougard, *Being an aristocrat*, to which we also refer the reader for more detailed bibliographical references. See also Airlie, *Aristocracy*; Bougard, Feller, Le Jan, *Les élites*; Bougard, Bührer-Thierry, Le Jan, *Les élites*; Patzold, *Integration durch Kommunikation*, pp. 198-201.
[10] Collavini, *Spazi politici*, p. 328.
[11] See, for exemple Cortese, *L'aristocrazia* and Tomei, Milites elegantes.

supra-regional aristocracy. This happens from two different perspectives. In some cases, the authors of the essays started from the "centre" or the "top", reconstructing the strategies of important aristocratic family groups towards local societies. In other cases, however, the analysis of local "small worlds" – rural and urban[12] – has been favoured, trying to reconstruct how their elites sought to establish links with the aristocracy "close to the king", even beyond the borders of the kingdom if necessary, or to aspire to social advancement thanks to the possibilities offered by the various forms of connection with the *Reichsaristokratie*. Finally, by studying the cases of cities on the borders or outside the Carolingian empire, such as Ravenna, Rome and Benevento, we have tried to understand, from a comparative point of view, how their elites, often linked to particular political models, were similar or different from those of Carolingian Italy in Lothar's time. Taking all these aspects into account, we hope that the essays collected in this volume will reveal a kind of web connecting the different levels of elites in the age of Lothar, a web that has often remained invisible.

[12] For their definition see Davis, *Small worlds* and Zeller, West, Tinti et al., *Neighbours and strangers*, pp. 1-18.

Works cited

After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its rulers, ed. C. Gantner, W. Pohl, Cambridge 2021.
S. Airlie, *The aristocracy*, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, *c. 700-c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, pp. 431-450.
Between Ostrogothic and Carolingian Italy. Survivals, revivals, ruptures, ed. F. Oppedisano, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 43).
F. Bougard, G. Bührer-Thierry, R. Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge. Identités, stratégies, mobilité*, in «Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales», 68 (2013), 4, p. 1079-1112.
Carolingian frontiers: *Italy and beyond*, ed. M. Betti, F. Borri, S. Gasparri, Firenze 2024 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 48).
S.M. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle élites laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge, 5), pp. 319-340.
M. E. Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana. Sette secoli (VI-XII)*, Spoleto 2017 (Istituzioni e società, 23).
W. Davis, *Small worlds. The village community in early medieval Brittany*, London 1988.
P. Delogu, *Lombard and Carolingian Italy*, in *The new Cambridge medieval history*, vol. 2, *c. 700 - c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, pp. 290-319.
Les élites au haut Moyen Âge: crises et renouvellements, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006 (Haut Moyen Âge, 1).
V. Fumagalli, *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 2, *Il regno italico*, Torino 1978.
E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960 (Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 8).
M. Marrocchi, *Lotario I, imperatore, re d'Italia*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 66, Roma 2006, pp. 171-176.
Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41).
S. Patzold, *Zwischen Gerichtsurteil und politischem Mord. Der rätselhafte Tod König Bernhards von Italien im Jahr 818,* in *Politische Morde in der Geschichte. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. G. Schild, A. Schindling, Paderborn 2012, pp. 37-54.
S. Patzold, *Integration durch Kommunikation. Ein Versuch über Herrscher,* missi *und Kapitularien im Karolingerreich*, in *Die Interaktion von Herrschern und Eliten in imperialen Ordnungen des Mittelalters*, ed. W. Drews, Berlin-Boston 2018 (Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte, 8), pp. 191-211.
P. Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, Sozialverhältnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin-Boston 2021 (Europa im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, 38).
Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy, ed. G. Albertoni, G. De Angelis, S. Gasparri, F. Oppedisano, forthcoming.
M. Schäpers, *Lothar I. (795–855) und das Frankenreich*, Köln 2018 (Rheinisches Archiv. Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit und Rheinische Landesgeschichte des Instituts für Geschichtswissenschaft der Universität Bonn, 159).
L. Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni. *L'azione politica di Lotario I (795-855) alla luce delle fonti storico-narrative del secolo IX*, PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Trento, 2017.
Spes Italiae. The kingdom of Pippin, the Carolingians and Italy (781-810), ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2022 (Haut Moyen Âge, 44).
P. Tomei, Milites elegantes. *Le strutture aristocratiche nel territorio lucchese* (896–1100 c.), Firenze 2019 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 34).
B. Zeller, C. West, F. Tinti et al., *Neighbours and strangers. Local societies in early medieval Europe*, Manchester 2020.

Giuseppe Albertoni
University of Trento (Italy)
giuseppe.albertoni@unitn.it
0000-0001-6670-7509

Manuel Fauliri
University of Trento (Italy)
manuel.fauliri@unitn.it
0000-0003-4669-3239

Leonardo Sernagiotto
University of Padua (Italy)
leonardo.sernagiotto@gmail.com
0000-0002-2904-7959

I

Acting as aristocrats, aspiring to the aristocracy

Being an aristocrat in the kingdom of Italy in the age of Lothar I

by François Bougard

After a preliminary reflection on the notions of "aristocracy" and "elite" and the criteria of their definition, an attempt is made to summarise the aristocratic groups in the period under consideration. It mainly deals with the office aristocracy, whose representatives were increasingly of transalpine origin during the reign of Lothar, especially in the northern part of the kingdom of Italy. Imperial vassals and gastalds are also taken into account. The paths of individuals and families also allow us to make some observations on the social practices of the aristocracy and their more or less successful imitation at lower levels. The "Lothar moment", conditioned by political hazards, must be considered as a time of closure, or of a takeover of the aristocracy holding offices by the transalpine migrants. This closure, maintaining and even reinforcing the ethnic divide, could only slow down the aristocratisation of the Lombard elite. The monopolising of offices also led to a difference in access for the aristocracy: whereas for the transalpine set, the office or membership of the group of vassals was in some way guaranteed by their very settling in Italy, for the Lombards the criterion of wealth was a prerequisite for passing to the *Königsnähe*.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Carolingian Italy; Lothar I; Carolingian aristocracy.

François Bougard, CNRS, Paris, France, f.bougard@irht.cnrs.fr, 0000-0001-8540-8141

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

François Bougard, *Being an aristocrat in the kingdom of Italy in the age of Lothar I*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.04, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 11-43, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

Bergamo = *Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo, a. 740-1000*, ed. M. Cortesi, Bergamo 1988 (Fonti per lo studio del territorio bergamasco, 8; Carte medievali bergamasche, 1).

Böhmer-Zielinski = J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii. I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (926/962),* vol. 3: *Die Regesten des Regnum Italiae und der burgundischen Regna*, ed. H. Zielinski, 3, 1: *Die Karolinger im Regnum Italiae 840-887 (888)*, Köln-Wien 1991.

Casauria = Iohannis Berardi *Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum monasterii Casauriensis seu Chronicon Casauriense*, 4 vol., ed. A. Pratesi, P. Cherubini, Roma 2017-2018 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Rerum Italicarum scriptores, Terza serie, 14).

CDL = *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, Torino 1873 (Historiae patriae monumenta, 13).

ChLA², LIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LIX, Italy XXXI, Verona 1, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2001.

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXIX, Italy XLI, Piacenza 6, publ. F. De Rubeis, Dietikon-Zürich 2006.

ChLA², LXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIII, Italy XLV, Lucca 2, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.

ChLA², LXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXV, Italy XLVII, Lucca 4, publ. F. Magistrale, P. Cordasco, C. Drago, Dietikon-Zürich 2005.

ChLA², LXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVII, Italy XLIX, Lucca 6, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.

ChLA², LXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIX, Italy LI, Lucca 8, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.

ChLA², LXXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVIII, Italy LX, Modena, Nonantola 1, publ. G. Feo, M. Al Kalak, M. Mezzetti, M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², XC = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XC, Italy LXII, Arezzo, publ. G. Feo, G. Nicolaj, M. Calleri, C. Tristano, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

ChLA², XCII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCII, Italy LXIV, Parma 1, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2012.

ChLA², XCIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIII, Italy LXV, Parma 2, publ. C. Mantegna, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

ChLA², XCIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIV, Italy LXVI, Milano 1, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², XCV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCV, Italy LXVII, Milano 2, publ. A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2016.

ChLA², XCVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCVII, Italy LXIX, Milano 4, publ. A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2018.

ChLA², XCVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCVIII, Italy LXII, Bergamo, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2017.

ChLA², XCIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIX, Italy LXXI, Brescia, Cremona, Udine, Venezia, publ. C. Mantegna, L. Pani, G. De Angelis, Dietikon-Zürich 2018.
Freising I = *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising, I (744-926)*, ed. Th. Bitterauf, München 1905 (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, N.F., 4).
LP = *Le* Liber Pontificalis. *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vol., ed. L. Duchesne, 2nd ed., Paris 1955-1957.
MDL, V/2 = *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del Ducato di Lucca*, vol. 5, 2, ed. D. Barsocchini, Lucca 1837.
MGH, ARF = *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad A. 829, qui dicuntur annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannover 1895 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 6).
MGH, AX = *Annales Xantenses*, ed. B. von Simson, Hannover-Leipzig 1909 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 12).
MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).
MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).
MGH, Conc. II = *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 2 vol., ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover-Leipzig 1906-1908 (MGH, Conc., 2).
MGH, Conc. III = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1984 (MGH, Conc., 3).
MGH, DD Karol. I = *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Großen*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, Hannover 1906 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1).
MGH, DD LdF = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, 3 vol., ed. T. Kölzer, Wiesbaden 2016 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 2).
MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).
Placiti I = *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, ed. C. Manaresi, Roma 1955 (FSI, 92).

1. *Introduction*

«Cosa significa essere aristocratici nell'età di Lotario I?», the issue that I have been tasked with studying, is not an easy one, on account of two specific limitations. The first is chronological: Lothar I and Italy as a topic covers around a quarter of a century if we consider the outside dates of his stays in Italy, the first in 822 and the last in 847. The period is hardly longer if we extend the chronology to the imperial coronation of Louis II in 850. This allows little room for manœuvre for us to see large-scale movements at work, or to characterise encompassing frameworks such as kinship structures, while running the risk of judging them by the yardstick of longer-term developments that are otherwise known. But it must also be acknowledged that to focus on this limited chronological slice offers some advantages. On the one hand, it brings the reign of Lothar to the fore, whereas it is generally overshadowed by those that precede or follow it. On the other hand, it takes into account the fact that the years 820-840 were politically quite turbulent. While in 822 the taking over of Italy was done under the sign of collaboration with Louis the Pious, with the declared wish of putting behind the unfortunate death of Bernard (818), which had been followed by four years of management by the *missi*, the rebellion of 829 and, above all, that of 833, placed the aristocracy at odds, pressed into choosing sides between the father and the son, while the *regnum* was used as a base by Lothar and

his supporters. The rapprochement put forward from 836 onwards certainly helped to pacify things. In 843, the treaty of Verdun could have signalled a regionalisation of the dominant groups. All these events could not fail to have an impact on the kingdom and its elites. During this time, Lothar himself was in Italy only intermittently, on nine occasions, for stays that never exceeded a few months, with the exception of the so-called "exile years", from Autumn 834 to Spring 839.

2. *Aristocracy* vs *elites*

The other difficulty is thematic: using the term "aristocracy" seems to be turning the historiographical page on "elites", a notion whose very indeterminacy allowed for all manner of dealings and a descent into decidedly lower social levels, but also one where one would always find someone superior to the other. In this sense, the title and subtitle of the conference – *Aristocrazie in rete / Élites e dinamiche sociali* – maintain a form of ambiguity.

On closer inspection, this ambiguity is not new. In fact, the work of recent years has helped to maintain it. One of the chapters of the New Cambridge Medieval History devoted to the Carolingian world, published in 2011, is entitled *Elite society*, but the four parts that make it up deal with the aristocracy without any discussion of other groups[1]. Chris Wickham's 2005 ideal type for the pre-800 aristocracy is very similar to the one he proposed for the elites a few years later, and which he also uses to characterise the Roman aristocracy of the tenth century: by his own admission, the use of a different term to designate the same reality is after all merely an illustration of «the fluidity of the debate»[2]. It is really all a question of where one sets the boundary. While every aristocrat belongs to the elite, and more precisely to the "ruling elite" – adjective whose relevance to the early Middle Ages was rejected by Cinzio Violante[3] – not every member of an elite or "dominant group" is part of the aristocracy. In a four-level classification of elites such as that established by Simone Collavini on the basis of heritage and territorial projection[4], the "*Reichsaristokratie*" and the regional-level elites can be considered as belonging to the aristocracy. Those at the "diocesan" level, which in regions other than Tuscany one might be tempted to call "county", could be, but there are many examples of them for which aristocratic membership can be questioned. Local elites would be excluded, but this category does not only con-

[1] Costambeys, Innes, MacLean, *Carolingian World*, chapter 6, pp. 271-323, in four sections: *Aristocratic identity*, *Aristocratic behaviour*, *Aristocratic families*, *Aristocratic resources and relationships*.
[2] Wickham, *Framing*, p. 154; Wickham, *Changing composition*; Wickham, *Roma medievale*, pp. 224-225, esp. note 6 for the «fluidità del dibattito».
[3] Airlie, *Aristocracy*; Violante, *Marchesi*, p. 19.
[4] Collavini, *Spazi politici*.

cern individuals without a title and the corresponding office, but can extend to minor officials such as *scabini* and *sculdascii*, whose social stature must be examined on a case-by-case basis.

That being said, if the notion of aristocracy does not have the vague character of that of the elite, it is no less trapping: for if we do not want to reduce it to the upper stratum, we can soon divide it into three tranches: "small", "middle" and "high" aristocracy. This quickly brings up difficulties, which are just as quickly circumvented by the lack of studies specifically devoted to the small aristocracy, which is treated by preterition or reunited with the one above it in the expression "small and medium aristocracy".

The definition of the aristocracy in the early Middle Ages, or the recognition of those who belong to it, has been the subject of many contributions. Those who have attempted to define it have considered at best only two groups. For example, Maria Elena Cortese, in 2017, identified two for Tuscany «the families of the high aristocracy active on a regional scale» and «the intermediate segment endowed with widespread patrimony at least on a diocesan level, and characterised by a broad political action, by direct relations with the higher powers, by access to civil and ecclesiastical offices»[5]. Andrea Castagnetti, on the other hand, embraces the whole category: «individuals, families and family groups who base their social and political status, in addition to the availability of greater or lesser patrimonies, on the foundation of monasteries and churches that ensure moral prestige and religious salvation, on participation in the exercise of power in various forms: the exercise of public offices associated with the government of territories, court service, direct vassalic relationships with kings and emperors»[6]. The second definition has the merit of introducing the notion of "prestige" which complements those of power and wealth. To go further, we can rely on the ideal-type constructed by Chris Wickham: an aristocrat is one who exercises a form of power simply «because he is who he is», based on: a) birth (the distinction of ancestors), b) landed wealth, c) position in an official hierarchy, expressed by the use of a title, d) royal or imperial familiarity/favour (*Königsnähe*), e) recognition by one's peers, f) lifestyle. This framework should be applicable to aristocracies operating in the kingdom as well as to those whose place of action is the city. We thus venture to speak of an urban aristocracy in relation to Rome and Ravenna, which we would not do for other cities of the *regnum*, because during the period we are dealing with, these cities maintained features of their Byzantine heritage, with a more marked and diversified hierarchy than elsewhere.

If, moreover, "aristocracy" is an anachronistic term in relation to the period with which we are dealing, the adjective *nobilis* is not the one which, in the Carolingian sources, best relates to it. It is true that those who are

[5] Cortese, *Aristocrazia*, p. VII.
[6] Castagnetti, *Aristocrazie*, p. 539.

nobiles are those who, because they are at the apex of society, exercise a domination that is expressed in terms of possession and holding of high offices; it is a question of nobility by birth, which goes hand in hand with a particular way of being served by physical and moral qualities[7]. But this is the representation given by the narrative sources. The representation given by the charters covers a much wider social spectrum, as indicated by the *notitiae iudicati*, for which the simple fact of participating in a judicial college, i.e. of taking part in some way in the administration of public affairs, is sometimes sufficient to qualify them for the label *nobilis*. One could prefer collective names such as *optimates*, *principes*, *primores*, *proceres* to the adjective, but they have the disadvantage of referring only to the upper segment and of being too largely based on narrative sources. One of the difficulties in dealing with the question is that most of the work on the aristocracy north of the Alps is based on these sources, which are not available for the *regnum Italiae*.

In the following pages, we will confine ourselves to the most obvious elements that characterise membership of the aristocracy and its various levels: the holding of offices identified by titles, mainly those of count, bishop, abbot or aulic office, for the upper segment; the status of vassal of the emperor for the minor or "intermediate" aristocracy. On the fringes of these two clearly identified groups, individual trajectories will enable us to examine the possibilities of joining one or other of these groups, or the aspirations to do so: an observation that takes into account the elite social practices specific to the aristocracy or to those who tried to approach it.

3. *Counts, bishops, and abbots: the immigrant aristocracy, its settlement and its resources*

Let's go back to two of the criteria for defining the aristocratic ideal type: wealth and position in an official hierarchy. In the years 820-840, the upper segment of the secular aristocracy of the kingdom of Italy was in a somewhat peculiar situation in these two respects, compared to the aristocracy north of the Alps, since the majority of office-holders were immigrants[8]. Some of them may have been descended from groups which had settled in Italy during the years of the conquest, but they are not those at the forefront, which is now occupied by others who arrived more recently, such as the Unrochid Alpchar, who was *baiulus* to the daughter of Pippin[9]. The installation of the Adalbertids in Tuscany (at first under the name of Boniface), and of the Supponids in the north of the kingdom, is probably no earlier than the 810s, linked to the beginning of

[7] Goetz, *Nobilis*.
[8] Hlawitschka, *Franken*; Bougard, *Laien*.
[9] On Alpchar, *infra*, note 29.

Bernard's government, when Adalhard and Wala had the management of the kingdom in hand. The political ups and downs, the rhythm of Lothar's stays, and the appointments he made along the way are reflected in the glimpses one has of these men's careers. The Supponids were clearly well-served by their denunciation of Bernard's revolt[10]. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the Bavarian Boniface I of Tuscany was dismissed for having supported it, before Lothar put the family back in control of the region when arriving in Italy in the Autumn of 822, or possibly on the occasion of his trip to Rome for his imperial coronation at Easter 823[11]; the Bavarian origin of the Empress Judith was probably not unrelated to this support[12]. The arrival of Leo, mentioned for the first time as count and *missus* alongside Wala at Reggio in December 824[13], may have coincided with Lothar's second journey in Italy, while that of Eberhard in Friuli does not seem to predate the end of the 820s, i.e. the resumption of control over the area after the deposition of the Marquis Baldericus in 828[14], even though the terrain had been prepared by Alpchar, Eberhard's relative. While it is difficult to associate new appointments with Lothar's first return to Italy in the Autumn of 829 and the three stays that followed until 833, the exile of 834 has been made famous for the list provided in the *Life* of Louis the Pious of those who accompanied him to the peninsula[15]. This episode cost Boniface II of Tuscany his office, and he was forbidden to return to the kingdom after he had participated in the liberation of Judith at Tortona in 834[16]. It allowed, however, the promoting of Hagano as count of Lucca – Hagano is attested from 838 to 844. Finally, the arrival of Autramnus, placed in *Civitas Nova* (Modena)[17], seems directly linked to the treaty of Verdun, just as we can see as a consequence of the peace of Verdun, the appointment of count Walpertus and bishop Billongus to Verona[18], as well as the return to Lucca of Boniface II's son, Adalbert, followed a little less than a year later by the royal coronation of Louis II. The reign of Lothar was thus in a state of continuous flux, which was also fed by lesser-known figures, such as Birichus, who claimed to be a member of the *gens Alamannorum* "but" had recently taken up residence in the territory of Bergamo in March 829, or the two *de partibus Franciae* who witnessed a donation charter from Alpchar in 842[19].

[10] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 29, p. 382.
[11] Boniface I is last mentioned in Lucca in 813; count Hildiprandus (see below), appears in 822; in 823 Boniface II.
[12] Hammer, *Ducatus*, pp. 220-223.
[13] Placiti I, n. 36 (ChLA², LXXXVIII, n. 32).
[14] MGH, ARF, p. 174; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 42, p. 444; Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 146-147; Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 194-197.
[15] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 56, pp. 512-515.
[16] *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, p. 13, *ad annum* 834; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 52, p. 492.
[17] Hlawitschka, *Franken*, p. 144, where the date of the document where it is first mentioned must be corrected, from 826 to 843: ChLA², XCII, n. 3.
[18] Zettler, *Conti*, pp. 265-266.
[19] Bergamo, n. 11 (ChLA², XCVIII, n. 6); ChLA², XCIV, n. 31; Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, p. 74.

Some of these men represent what could be called a lasting immigration, others were around for a limited time only, either as part of a more or less long-term mission, or because they could not imagine making a home in Italy. There were certainly people among them who had nothing to lose and who seized the adventure as an opportunity to improve their own lot; others for whom coming to Italy, whether freely chosen or imposed, could mean a loss in the long run compared to a more advantageous position north of the Alps. The social origins of the various parties varied. In the 820s, Eberhard of Friuli, son-in-law of Louis the Pious, was at the top of the pyramid, but the position of the Adalbertids and Supponids, who were beginning their ascent, was clearly inferior. The former, who were among the few Bavarians settled in Italy, certainly belonged to the Huosi group, with whom Lothar may also have established contacts during the few years he was in charge of Bavaria[20]. But they were not its most prominent members. As for the Supponids, there is every reason to believe that they would have remained in the shadow without their passage to Italy. With the group of 834, the situation is different: this time it was the best of the Frankish nobility, starting with Matfrid and Lambert, *principes consules* of Lothar, who were swept away by the epidemic in 836 and 837[21]. But they may also have been those for whom Italy was only a temporary achievement. As for Autramnus, he seems to have been of more modest extraction.

If there is a common point beyond the diversity of individual cases, we can find it in the limited availability of land in the kingdom. In other words, this displaced aristocracy was for a long time more dependent than anywhere else on fiscal resources and, more broadly, on royal largesse, for its economic survival, which presupposed direct or indirect access to the sovereign. The criterion of the *Königsnähe* appears to be more central here than those of wealth or birth: without it, no lasting settlement in the kingdom was possible. Thus, the installation of the first Bosonid in Italy, in 826, was made possible by an exchange of manses and a *casa domnicata* detached for him from the fisc of Biella by Louis the Pious and Lothar with other manses that Boso owned near Nijmegen[22]. In 845, Count Hagano of Lucca, leaving his office (*olim comes*) to enable the return to power in Tuscany of the Adalbertids, received from the bishop the concession of the church of San Michele in Foro for five years, with this proviso that if, in the meantime, he obtained an additional *beneficium* from the *pars regia* to that which he already had, the contract would be cancelled. We can infer that Lothar had placed a minor figure in Boniface II's place, who then faded away at the end of this transition period. The fact that Hagano thought that he could continue to draw on public resources is less an indication that he was hoping for a reward for the service

[20] Stoffella, *Relazioni*.
[21] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 56, pp. 512-515; MGH, AX, p. 9, *ad annum* 834.
[22] MGH, DD LdF, n. 256 (ChLA², XCIII, n. 1); Bougard, *Boson*, p. 40.

he had rendered during ten years or so, but rather that he was returning to his original milieu, that of a second-rate aristocracy closer to the circle of the vassals than to that of the counts. The affair was supervised by the bishop of Reggio Sigifredus, one of the participants in the coronation of Louis II in Rome the previous year, the first witness to subscribe after Hagano: a sign of the importance attached to this agreement in high places and of the fact that the concession had the king's approval[23].

For those whose passage to Italy meant a new start after losing a strong personal position in Francia, as was the case for many of Lothar's companions in 834, who lost both their benefices and their own property[24], it was not possible to self-finance their settlement as count Boso had been able to do by means of an exchange. Lothar drew on the fiscal resources for his mother-in-law Ava, as we shall see. For others of his *miliciae coetus* who lacked subsidies in Italy, he had to "borrow" from Church property (*ecclaesiarum predia feneravimus*), as in the diocese of Reggio for the *ostiarius* Richard and in Valtellina for Matfrid of Orléans[25]. Whether consensually or forced, these levies were not without protests and sometimes legal action[26]. Obviously, it was not envisaged, because it was not possible, to make a zero-sum game by attributing to the new arrivals the estates and/or offices of those who had joined Louis the Pious: either because there was not enough to achieve a compensation pattern, or, more probably, because Italy remained a waiting position for many. Mobility, or the possibility of it, remained a basic feature, as expressed twenty years earlier by the sister of the bishop of Freising, Hitto, when making a pious donation for the salvation of her son Kernand's soul: since the latter *in Italia regione prolem habuit*, it was appropriate to insert a reserve clause in the event that his children returned to their homeland and asserted their legitimate rights to their father's allodial land[27].

A clearer example is perhaps that offered by Autramnus, already mentioned, in his early career. In 843, he brought his wife Adelburga a *curtis* of thirty manses, with ninety *mancipia*, near Vercelli. The marriage took place in the palace of Gondreville, about 600 km away – it is for that reason that a piece of parchment which had been obviously prepared by the chancery for a diploma rather than for a private charter was used to draw up the marital donation[28] –, where several representatives from Italy were then present, just after the treaty of Verdun, to which this union is probably directly linked. There is every reason to believe that the future count of Modena was one of the aristocrats who settled in the kingdom at that time, probably encouraged

[23] MDL, V/2, n. 628 (845 XII 2, Lucca); Castagnetti, *Vassalli*, pp. 235-236.
[24] Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, p. 300.
[25] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 40. On Richard, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 363-365.
[26] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, cap. 55, p. 510; Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, p. 307. See also, in 833, the conflict concerning the monastery of San Pietro d'Asso, given by Lothar in benefice to the abbot of Sant'Antimo (Chiusi): Placiti I, n. 42 (ChLA², XC, n. 5).
[27] Freising I, n. 352, p. 301 (a. 815).
[28] ChLA², XCII, n. 3; *supra*, note 16.

by a donation from the sovereign, a donation of which Autramnus did not actually know the extent very well: a clause specifies that if the number of manses were greater than thirty, Adelburga coud keep the whole; if it were less, this would be compensated for with a neighbouring *curtis*. Autramnus did not imagine, then, that he would have to exercise a count's functions in Emilia, far from Vercelli.

It could be deduced from the situations I have just described that this aristocracy transplanted to Italy was fundamentally fragile, in that it appeared to be completely dependent on the king's favour. In reality, things are more complicated, because this fragility was compensated for on other levels. At the time of Lothar, i.e. two or three generations after the conquest, there was no lack of individuals among the holders of honours in Italy who had had time to build up an autonomous patrimony beyond that of just fiscal lands, i.e. whose "properties" had either moved away from their original public nature or which had been obtained from resources other than the fisc.

This is the case of the previously-mentioned *baiulus* Alpchar[29]. In 807, he had bought a large quantity of land in the territories of Seprio and Stazzona, at the price of eight pounds of *argento fabrito*[30] – which could mean cash, ingots or objects, and in any case precious metal. At a time of monetary shortage, one of the characteristics of this aristocracy was to have such metallic wealth at its disposal, which certainly facilitated its installation in a territory with which it was not familiar. But Alpchar had to leave the kingdom before 810 to accompany Adelaide to the court of Charlemagne, who rewarded him for his services with a county in Alemannia, and he was absent for several years. On his return (in 834, in connection with the exile of Lothar?), he found that some of his property had been appropriated and he had to take legal action to recover it[31]. Shortly afterwards, in 842, he ceded it to Saint Ambrose of Milan, who immediately gave it back to him in life usufruct – a legal transfer that was tantamount to an assurance that such misadventure would not happen again. With Alpchar, we have an example of enrichment linked to the exercise of a political career, with the strength linked to the availability of liquid assets and the weakness inherent in the vagaries of *palatina servicia*.

The cases of Alpchar and Autramnus show that, in the kingdom of Italy, the criterion of holding an office, with the economic advantages that this entailed, was more important than that of inherited wealth. This may be one of the elements that help us to understand the rapid expansion of the Supponids in geographically diverse areas in the years 820-840: the palace, Brescia, Spoleto, Parma and Piacenza. The choice made by Suppo I to support Louis the Pious rather than Bernard in 817 paid off for them, and was all the better

[29] *Supra*, notes 9, 18. Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 120-121; Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 46-48; Castagnetti, *Transalpini*, pp. 25-37; Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, pp. 65-77; Štih, *Raetian-Alamannic connections*.
[30] ChLA², XCIV, n. 5.
[31] Placiti I, n. 45 (ChLA², XCIV, n. 29). Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, pp. 71-73.

exploited as the family was large and could put forward several candidates for different positions at the same time. The strength of their position can be gauged from the fact that, of the seven laymen present in Rome in 844 at the coronation of Louis II, whose names are known, no less than three are Supponids[32].

Inheritance was, however, not absent. It is in fact from the reign of Lothar that the first examples of hereditary transmission of lands and/or offices within the immigrant aristocracy can be seen: a sign that "wealth" could not depend on royal favour alone for long. The continuity sometimes applies from the time of Charlemagne, as in Istria with the succession from Hunfrid I to Hunfrid II[33]. In 828, the replacement of Baldericus by Eberhard may have been within the same group of Unrochids[34]. It was especially the case in Tuscany with the passage from Boniface I to Boniface II in 822/823, then from Boniface II to Adalbert in 844/845. If the Adalbertids, as we have seen, had a chequered history, neither the replacement of Boniface I in Lucca by Hildiprandus nor that of Boniface II by Hagano ultimately called into question a succession mechanism considered natural, nor the qualification of their titles: Boniface I and Adalbert were dukes, and *illustrissimi*[35]. It may be thought that Adalbert gained the upper hand not only because he had retained a position of expectation close to Italy thanks to the fact that he was in charge of the county of Arles during his father's exile, but also because relatives had remained in the area, and the family's power in the region had reached the point where it was able to negotiate with from a stronger position than could a freshly immigrated individual[36].

This family succession in peripheral regions may be seen as the beginning of dynastic assertions of the same kind as those observed in Spoleto in the following decades. However, they were not confined to the margins, since Pippin, the son of King Bernard, who had also sided with Judith in 834, was in turn prevented from returning, but it was in all probability his son Bernard who was count in Verona from 844[37].

If the supporters of Lothar who came with him to Italy in 834 did not have time to settle down because of the epidemic of 836-837 – which simplified the question of reinstallation for those who had lost not only their honours but also perhaps their own property in Francia – their children sometimes had a more lasting presence there. Thus, for the Widonids: Lambert of Nantes did not have the time, nor probably the desire, to occupy any other place than the one he occupied in the first circle, but his son Wido was put in charge of the

[32] LP, vol. 2, p. 89 (MGH, Conc. III, n. 5, pp. 25-26).
[33] Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 206-208.
[34] Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, p. 192, note 407.
[35] Placiti I, n. 25 (a. 812): *Bonifatius dux*; n. 26 (ChLA², LXXIII, n. 50, a. 813): *B. inlustrissimus comes*; n. 51 (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, a. 847): *Adalbertus inlustrissimo dux*.
[36] Tomei, *Spazi*.
[37] Zettler, *Conti*, pp. 267-269.

duchy of Spoleto in 842, while Haimo, presumably another of his sons, *consiliarius* of Lothar in 837, gave birth to Lambert the Bald, Count of Camerino in the 870s[38]. Perhaps we should also see a Widonid in the person of the gastald Leodoinus – one of the Leitnamen of the family – who received property from the bishop of Modena in 842, another (or the same?) in the homonymous count who presided over a court of justice in Milan as imperial *missus* in 844, and yet another in Count Milo, probably in charge of Teramo, active in the years 850-860[39].

The example of Lothar's parents-in-law, Hugh of Tours and his wife Ava, illustrates how much the investment of family groups in the kingdom of Italy was capable of expanding beyond the individual adventure, unlike what it might have been in the early days of Frankish rule. By giving Ava the *curtis* of Locate in 836, Lothar was not only showing deference to his mother-in-law, he was providing her with an income comparable to a dower in a country where Hugh of Tours did not have the economic basis to provide this guarantee. At the same time, he made Ava's loyalty to him, and the reward it implied, an example for others to follow. But Locate was immediately put at the service of the couple's memorial construction, since it was donated to Saint John of Monza, as if to give economic support to their choice of burial place. This created a lasting link between the collegiate church and the interests of the Etichonids in Italy, a kingdom in which they enjoyed a prominent position without having to be in charge of a particular area: the Etichonid horizon was that of *Francia Media*, starting with that of Hugh and Ava's son, Liutfrid (I), who held ducal rank under Lothar and Louis II, took part in the military expedition of 847-848 to southern Italy, but continued his career north of the Alps. As for his namesake son Liutfrid (II), he held the *curtis* of Monza, while cultivating his interests in the region of origin of the Etichonids, in Alsace[40].

High as it is, Ava's position is not exceptional. There is no lack of examples of the importance of the female element in the settlement of the aristocracy from north of the Alps. The pious donations made by widows sometimes sound like the final step, lived in a certain isolation, sometimes accentuated by the political failure of the deceased husband: thus, the will of Queen Cunegunda, in 835, by which she relinquished all her possessions in the territories of Parma, Reggio and Modena to her foundation of Saint Alexander of Parma for the salvation of the soul of her *senior*, King Bernard[41]. They nevertheless bear witness to the fact that immigration deals with couples, families and, more broadly, groups. For couples, the emblematic document is perhaps the

[38] Hlawitschka, *Widonen*.
[39] ChLA², LXXXVIII, n. 11; Placiti I, n. 48; Hlawithschka, *Franken*, pp. 220-221; Santos Salazar, *Una terra contesa*, p. 193; Feller, *Abruzzes*, pp. 565-566, 655.
[40] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 29; Veronese, *Un franco*; Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 221-226.
[41] ChLA², XCIII, n. 2; Provero, *Chiese*, p. 46. See also, in 816, the donation to Saint Alexander of Bergamo by Audelinda, widow of the Count of Bergamo Auteranus (ChLA², XCVIII, n. 4); the couple does not seem to have had any descendants.

already mentioned concession for five years of the church of San Michele in Foro in Lucca to the former Count Hagano and his wife Teubergha. Having left office in 845 to make way for Adalbert, Hagano had no intention of leaving the *regnum*[42]. For the families, no less emblematic is the act by which, in 823, in Lucca, Richilda, sister of Boniface II, had already taken over the monastery dedicated to Benedict and Scholastica: after the parenthesis of Count Hildiprandus, the Bavarians' takeover of Lucca was a long-term one[43]. As for the groups, we will come back to this, the recurrence of the same names among the holders of civil and ecclesiastical offices or in their entourage often suggests a family relationship, even if it is rarely possible to specify the details.

All the names mentioned so far, with the exception of Hildiprandus, who was removed at the time of Lothar's arrival in Italy, are those of Frankish, Alamannic or Bavarian individuals. This is where the criterion of birth can come into play, provided that it is not taken as a reference to prestigious ancestors, which they do not all have, but as an indication of belonging to a dominant ethnic group. If the substitution of secular office-holders of Lombard origin was progressive after the conquest of 774, the government of Lothar probably contributed to accelerating and completing the movement. If it was possible at the time of Pippin to consider the *comites Francisci* and the *Langubardisci comites* as equal[44], this was no longer the case in the second quarter of the ninth century. The phenomenon was amplified by the presence of transalpine elements in the wake of these leading figures – the examples of Lucca and Bergamo show that there is a close link between the installation of transalpine bishops or counts and the appearance or increase in documentary mentions of Frankish or Alamannic individuals[45] –, and it was accompanied by the taking into account of legal differences. It is no coincidence that the first individual professions of law, which gradually replaced ethnic mentions indicative of provenance (such and such, *Francus*, *Franciscus*, *Alamannus*, *teotiscus homo*, *de partibus Francorum* etc.) or membership of a people, date from the 820s[46].

There are exceptions to this general trend, which make it possible to affirm that it is not led by a desire to systematically eradicate all those who may have had some link with the aristocracy of the previous regime. It seems to be more of a "natural" evolution, dictated by the limited number of places to be filled at a given time, in the face of the dual pressure of the passage of generations, which contributes to the rooting of families that were once new to the country, and the arrival of new contingents. There are two or three known exceptions. The first is that of Count Hildiprandus in Lucca, whose name be-

[42] *Supra*, note 23.
[43] ChLA², LXXV, n. 20.
[44] MGH, Capit. I, n. 91, cap. 7 (a. 782); Bougard, *De Charlemagne à Pépin*, pp. 36-38.
[45] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, pp. 175-177; Predatsch, *Migration*, pp. 222-225; Jarnut, *Bergamo*, p. 161.
[46] ChLA², XCVII, n. 1.

trays his Lombard origin, and whose position may have benefited from a period of disgrace of the first Adalbertids. The second is that of Alboinus, son of the Lombard Friulian Count Aio, whose flight to the Avars after Hrodgaud's rebellion in 776 was sanctioned by the confiscation of his property, before he was reinstated by Charlemagne and his possessions confirmed, first by Charlemagne and then by Louis the Pious[47]. Alboinus in turn became a count and was guilty of *offensio* against Lothar during one or the other of the conflicts that marked his reign, for which he lost his office and was probably killed. In 843, the Church of Aquileia then took care to confirm the property that Alboinus had given it in his will and that Lothar would have been entitled to confiscate[48]. While Alboinus is the last witness of the old world of Lombard officials who, after a period of opposition, managed to maintain their positions by demonstrating their loyalty to Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, Hildiprandus is in all likelihood a representative of a local elite whose services were called upon at a time of political transition. As for the third case, that of *Leo qui tum apud (Hlotharium) magni loci habebatur*, he belongs to the milieu of the vassals, with which we shall deal later.

Before moving further into the world of the vassals, a word on the Church aristocracy, traditionally neglected in studies on the elites for lack of detailed information, is needed. The identity of bishops and abbots is less well-known than that of the counts. There is, however, a consensus that the government of Lothar was characterised by a total control of these offices by transalpine men, over whom the control of elections/appointments was strengthened, as witnessed by the mentions of *vocatus episcopus*, which are a novelty in Italy. Such are that of the Alaman Notingus in Verona, and of the Frankish Amalricus in Como[49]. If, therefore, the ecclesiastical career had been able to serve for some time as a refuge for an aristocracy deprived of political power on the secular side, that time was now over.

As is often the case, these assertions must be weighed up against the fact that Tuscany and the duchy of Spoleto were not included in the field of investigation, but it must also be acknowledged that the data we have is small[50]. However, we find a choice illustration in Berengar in Lucca, who took office between 834 and 837, whose name evokes the Unrochids, and who breaks the line of a continuous series of prelates from the ranks of the local clergy[51]. This confirms what has just been said about the lay aristocracy: more than their local roots, which could have ensured, for example, the classical transmission routes from uncle to nephew, what really mattered was royal favour. In this

[47] Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 113-114; MGH, DD Karol. I, n. 209 (a. 809, first mention of Aio as count); MGH, DD LdF, n. 101.
[48] Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 116-117; MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 76.
[49] Fischer, *Königtum*, pp. 63-68.
[50] Of the twenty or so bishops present in Rome in 844 for the coronation of Louis II (*supra*, note 32), onomastics tend to consider Gausprandus of Pistoia and Sisimundus of Teramo as Lombards.
[51] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, pp. 92-94; Predatsch, *Migration*, pp. 222-225; Tomei, *Writing*.

case, it is as if Boniface's removal had resulted in the scales being tipped, with the promotion of an inferior figure, Hagano, to the count's office and the substitution of a representative of the imperial aristocracy as head of the Church of Lucca. Berengar's successor, Ambrose (843-852), was also chosen from among the Frankish aristocracy.

The episcopal offices were thus not immune from political upheavals, as the substitution of Notingus for Ratoldus in Verona in 834 shows even more clearly; like Boniface, Ratoldus could not return to Italy[52]. Everywhere where there is a known succession of bishops who can be presumed, though not always certain, to have been of Lombard origin, Franks or Alamanni were put in place: another Hagano in Bergamo (840-863) after Tachimpaldus and Grasemondus[53], Amalricus in Como (844-860) after Perideus, Seufredus in Piacenza (837-869/870) after Podo.

The need to give places to the most eminent members of the chapel or the royal chancery contributed to this movement. The archchancellor Witgarius replaced Claudius in Turin after 827 and his successor Hermenfridus was probably the same person as the bishop (of Tortona?) attested in 842[54]. So did the fact of entrusting different bishoprics to the same person, as we see with Notingus (Verona, then Brescia), even though this was not a case of accumulation[55]. The attribution of abbeys controlled by the king to bishops or personnel from Francia or Alemannia posed the same problem on the monastic side. The most famous case is – albeit with some uncertainty as to the chronology – that of Bobbio, entrusted to Wala and then to Hilduin, the future archbishop of Cologne, to Amalricus of Como and to Ebbo of Rheims (815-845, died 851 abbot of Hildesheim)[56], but we could mention Novalesa (Joseph of Ivrea) and Farfa (where Bishop Peter of Spoleto replaced Sicardus), while at San Salvatore of Tolla officiated a bishop named Elmericus (826)[57]. San Salvatore in Monte Amiata had a lay abbot in the person of the Widonid Haimo[58]. Only Nonantola may have kept Lombard abbots, judging by the names Ansfridus (825-837), Ratpertus (838-839) and Rotechildus (839-845).

This separate presentation of the civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy, for the convenience of my argument, should not obscure the fact that they are often one and the same from the family point of view. There is a good chance that the bishop of Novara Adalgisus (830-848) was a Supponid. Bishop Ramp-

[52] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, c. 52, p. 492; Hlawitschka, *Ratold*, pp. 24-26.
[53] De Angelis, *Aganone*.
[54] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, pp. 15-16; CDL, n. 148.
[55] Contrary to what is still asserted in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (t. 78, pp. 778-781), Notingus was not also bishop of Vercelli, they are two homonyms: Schmid, *Sankt Aurelius in Hirsau*, pp. 13-14; Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, p. 86. Similarly, Notingus was not abbot of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia: Kottje, review of Schmid, *Hirsau*, p. 179.
[56] Fischer, *Königtum*, p. 144.
[57] Tiraboschi, *Nonantola*, n. 27.
[58] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 33; Fischer, *Königtum*, p. 33; Keller, *Struktur*, pp. 140-141, 213.

ertus of Brescia (824/825-844), whose brother was named Cunipertus, and Count Walfred of Verona (840), son of Cunipertus of *Sancto Iusto*, are likely to be related and are allied to the group of "founders of Hirsau", from which the Notingus came; a namesake of Rampertus was a count at Piacenza[59]. Both Notingus have links with the Unrochids, as does perhaps Berengar of Lucca[60]. The recurrence of the name Hagano in the years 820-830 in Bergamo, Lucca and Arezzo, here for a bishop, there for counts, while the name disappears afterwards, may be suggestive of a relationship, as does the presence of a bishop Berengar in Lucca, another who was duke of Spoleto (836-841) and a third – unless he is to be identified with the previous one – who was a count in Camerino at the end of the 840s. It is not impossible, moreover, that Bishop Lambert of Parma (827-835), who subscribed Queen Cunegunda's will[61], was a Widonid, which would indicate that the Widonid presence in Italy was slightly earlier than the arrival of Lambert of Nantes, while remaining linked to the government of Lothar. In other words, the newcomers of 834 were not all that new and had relatives who already held interests in Italy, such as Count Boso, the uncle by marriage of the *ostiarius* Richard. To return to the Widonids, it was again to one of them, the *consiliarius* Haimo, that San Salvatore at Monte Amiata was entrusted[62].

These aristocrats naturally formed alliances. The marriage of Adalbert I of Tuscany with the Widonid Rotilda is perhaps the most famous, while other names suggest relationships whose details are not known: in Abruzzo, could Count Milo, probably a Widonid, son of Eberhard, not have some connection with the Unrochids?[63] However, they did not cultivate an exclusive ethnic milieu: one of the reasons for the success of the Supponids was perhaps their alliance with the family of the last king of the Lombards, Desiderius, which is echoed in the marriage of Wido I of Spoleto with Ita, the daughter of the prince of Benevento Sico[64].

Before we move to the vassals, let us summarise. To be an aristocrat at the time of Lothar was first and foremost to be part of a long-standing or, more often, recent immigrant elite. For some, this went hand in hand with high birth, as evidenced by the fact that members of the greatest families such as the Pippinids, Unrochids, Etichonids, Widonids and Hunfridingi were present in the kingdom. But this criterion of "ancestry" was not the main one. Others, perhaps from less prestigious groups, very early on made Italy the main field of their social success, such as the Adalbertids and the Supponids. To this half-dozen families belonging to the "*Reichsaristokratie*" (i.e. 15% of what had been recognised by Gerd Tellenbach) can be attached between a

59 Zettler, *Conti*, pp. 265-266; Bougard, *Gandolfingi*, p. 16.
60 *Supra*, note 51.
61 ChLA², XCIII, n. 2.
62 *Supra*, note 58.
63 *Supra*, note 39; Casauria, II, n. 1183, p. 1891.
64 Bougard, *Supponides*.

third and a half of those holding office that are known to us[65]. The connections within the two hierarchies, secular and ecclesiastical, are becoming increasingly dense: in the absence of a "dynasty", for which the bases are perhaps lacking, and which is in any case not possible to assess at the scale of a single reign, the group draws its strength from these links. A close examination of the origins of the various groups also reveals, more often than one might think, long-standing interests in the kingdom. The extent of dependence on royal favour depends on the gradual affirmation of this base. Essential at the beginning of the reign of Lothar and at critical moments, it is certainly less so at its end – or at any rate more often the object of negotiation. As to the wealth criterion, it does not pose a problem: even if based on a revocable *beneficium*, it can quickly be complemented by the acquisition of one's own properties, as shown by Autramnus' numerous land acquisitions after 843[66].

4. *The second circle: vassals, gastalds, and others*

If the counts, bishops and abbots belong to relatively homogeneous groups, in spite of a fairly obvious stratification, the same cannot be said of the imperial vassals, for whom the reign of Lothar provides a fairly good harvest of information. The fact that they were part of the aristocracy is not in doubt: on the one hand, their title expresses this proximity to the sovereign, which is essential in the definition, and on the other hand, they are placed on the same level as counts, bishops and abbots in the capitularies, at least in terms of participation in the exercise of the royal *ministerium*. They also shared with them the exercise of war. However, vassalage cannot be considered an office. The same capitularies clearly imply that vassals were in a slightly inferior position, which is confirmed by the narrative sources – no vassal is mentioned by name among the *optimates* who attended the coronation of Louis II in Rome in 844 – even though they were primarily subject to the *Königsnähe*. This could be very theoretical and did not of course imply that they knew the emperor personally or had ever seen him, but the important thing was that it was expressed in a title that distinguished those who bore it from the others.

Unlike the office holders, the vassals cannot be considered as members of an elite that was substituted for another after the Carolingian conquest, with a partial change of name. The Lombard *gasindi* can only be remotely compared with the Carolingian vassals, with whom they share only the link of clientele with the king. They were much wealthier, probably fewer in number, and in particular they did not play the special role in the structure of govern-

[65] Tellenbach, *Königtum*, pp. 41-69; Tellenbach, *Grossfränkische Adel*. It should be remembered that many are unknown: of the fifteen individuals who *in Italia beneficia habent* have been mobilised for the campaign in southern Italy of 847-848 (MGH, Capit. II, n. 203, pp. 67-68; MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, p. 138), no less than eight or nine have left no further trace.
[66] Bonacini, *Terre d'Emilia*, pp. 101-103; Santos Salazar, *Una terra contesa*, pp. 166-169.

ment that the Frankish military requirements implied. Those who survived the change of regime were able to retain their title, but without the importance of the role. Although the Frankish vassalic relationship and the group of vassals progressively absorbed what remained of the *gasindi*, the vassals of the ninth century can nonetheless be considered as new[67]. Being part of it could offer the opportunity to distinguish oneself, and/or to progress in a society where the highest positions were taken over by an exogenous elite.

Not all imperial vassals were Frankish or Alamanni[68]. Two ways to access the group can be distinguished. The first is of the same order as that of the counts, and is based on proximity to power, whether that of the sovereign or his immediate delegates, and goes hand in hand with the same form of granting benefices, but also of precariousness, at least initially. Some were members of the comital/episcopal families living in the orbit of their elders who held the posts: thus – but at the chronological limit of our study – in all probability Seufredus in Piacenza (855-898), who not only was a namesake of the contemporary bishop (837-870), but whose direct relatives bore noble names: his father Guarinus, his wife Berta, his son Matfredus[69]. Others, visibly more numerous, do not seem to come from the ranks of an elite that could be considered aristocratic from the outset. For example, the Frankish vassal Ernost, active in the years 810-820 in the immediate vicinity of Milan, was soon at the head of a large landed estate, but was unable to pass it on to the next generation because he had no children with his wife Weltruta. His rank is evident not only from his wealth and his many local connections, but also from the fact that a royal *missus* was present at the mutual donation made with his wife in 823: this is certainly a question of complying with a provision present in the Marculf formulary, but the identity of the *missus*, who, it has been suggested may have been the bishop of Verona Ratoldus, says a great deal about the stature of Ernost[70].

On the other hand, the criterion for the recruitment of vassals of Lombard origin seems to be based on the strong local position of said individuals: regardless of whose follower he became, a Lombard did not become a vassal without being able to demonstrate a certain pedigree, as required by the Mantuan capitulary of 781, explicitly introducing a criterion of birth (*quomodo natus est*) and fame[71]. This is precisely the case of Eriprandus in Lucca, attested from 840 onwards, whose father, Hildebrandus, had gained a strong position[72]. At a slightly lower level and a few years later, the family of the "sons

[67] Delogu, *Regno longobardo*, pp. 129-130; Gasparri, *Relations de fidélité*, p. 151. The *gasindi* cannot be reduced to «the Lombard version of Frankish *vassi*» (Cammarosano, *Nobili*, p. 161).
[68] Gasparri, *Relations de fidélité*, pp. 152-153.
[69] Bougard, *Gandolfingi*, pp. 40-41; completed by Castagnetti, *Aristocrazie*, p. 601-602 and Mancassola, *Uomini senza storia*, pp. 109-110.
[70] ChLA², XCVII, n. 1; Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, p. 45.
[71] MGH, Capit. I, n. 90, cap. 11: «Ut nullus quilibet hominem Langobardiscum in vassatico vel in casa sua recipiat, antequam sciat unde sit vel quomodo natus est».
[72] Collavini, *Aldobrandeschi*, pp. 38-50.

of Huscit" is comparable; it acted in the shadow of the future Aldobrandeschi and in turn had two imperial vassals in the years 850-860[73]. During the reign of Lothar, there would then have been a kind of reverse movement to that of the counts in the recruitment of vassals. The comital group, as we have seen, closed itself off to the Lombard elites, whereas the existence of *Langubardisci comites* was a matter of course at the time of Pippin[74]. Conversely the vassalic group, which was initially very selective at the time of Pippin, was later opened up to the point of considering, for example, the presence of *vassi dominici tam Teutisci quam et Langobardi* in a judicial college convened in Trento in 845 as normal[75].

In addition to belonging to the sphere of the leading notables that they were able to demonstrate, these vassals from the Lombard elite, whose membership of the group meant that they had to travel at least regionally to accompany the judicial movements of the sovereign's *missi*, were able to write, or at the very least to subscribe: in Lucca, in addition to Eriprandus, this was the case of Cunipertus (840-851) and Ansprandus (833-840)[76]. The vassals from the duchy of Spoleto who were present at the courts held by imperial *missi* in Norcia in 821 and in Rome in 829, also subscribed with their own hand[77]. The comparison with what can be observed in the northern regions tends to show a cultural difference which perhaps goes hand in hand with a social and/or ethnic difference. Only two of the fourteen vassals present at the *placitum* in Trento in 845 could write and almost all of them, except one from Milan, lived in rural areas. In all likelihood, too, the number of Frankish or Alamanni vassals was proportionately greater in the Po Valley than in central Italy.

The presence of one or more vassals in a family could enable it to rise to a higher rank. For those of Lombard birth, vassalage was thus an opportunity to reach a position that they would probably have reached in a "natural" way if it had not been necessary to make room for the newcomers. If the "sons of Huscit" did not go further, while establishing themselves as the leading notables in the Lucchese area of the Sei Miglia, Eriprandus got the Aldobrandeschi off the ground by placing one son Hildebrandus as count, and the other son Jeremiah as bishop. Similarly Gottefridus may have been the father of bishop

73 Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 225-232.
74 *Supra*, note 44.
75 Placiti I, n. 49 (ChLA², LIX, n. 17).
76 Castagnetti, *Vassalli*. Castagnetti, *Inquisitio*, pp. 180-183, questions the hypothesis that Eriprandus was trained at court, which would explain his mastery of caroline writing (Collavini, *Aristocrazia*, p. 34); rather, it is more likely that he was trained locally in the episcopal church. Cunipertus: Castagnetti, *Inquisitio*, pp. 244-245, who corrects Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, p. 179, on his filiation. Ansprandus was a member of the judicial college of a court of *missi* in 833 (Placiti I, n. 42; ChLA², XC, n. 5), of another in Lucca in 840 (Placiti I, n. 44; ChLA², LXXVII, n. 35); from the fact that another vassal is said in 833 to be from *Sena*, we deduce that he himself is not and is therefore rather from Lucca.
77 Placiti I, nn. 32, 38. In Falagrine (Rieti), in 845, the vassal Helperinus and his brother Hildeprandus also subscribed with their own hand (Placiti I, n. 50).

Gerard (869/870-895), who succeeded Jeremiah[78]. It is also likely that Farulfus, who was mobilised with Eriprandus in the military expedition to southern Italy and who, I imagine, had vassalic status like Eriprandus, had a role in the rise of the future Farolfingi[79]. Should we see in him this Farulfus "of the county of Siena", who died in 864, brother of a bishop named Peter who also died and whose sons, among whom was an imperial chaplain, gave Louis II the *curtis* of *Palme*, near Florence[80]? For the transalpine migrants active in the north of the kingdom, few have broken through, but at least two cases are equally representative of the ascension between one generation and another, induced by the vassalic quality acquired before or during the reign of Lothar: those of Leo and Erembertus, whose sons were counts.

However, we should not imagine rigorously linear trajectories, as if the entry into vassalage to the sovereign was the first step in an upward trajectory. On the one hand, this trajectory only concerns a small number of individuals: most of them do not seem to have gone beyond this stage. On the other hand, vassalic qualification does not always mean progress. The case of Leo, whose ethnic origin was debated for a long time until Andrea Castagnetti and Antonio Ciaralli proposed, with convincing arguments, to see him as a Lombard, seems to illustrate this well[81]. Documented for almost the entire first half of the ninth century, from 801 to 847, probably related to the Totonids of Campione, Leo was first of all a «vassal and judge» (801, 812-814), «vassal and *missus*» (821), and president of the judicial court (823), active both in the Po Valley and in the duchy of Spoleto. In 824, he became a count, alongside Wala, a promotion obviously linked to the takeover of Italy by Lothar and his team, and which he probably owed entirely to his legal expertise. Perhaps it was at the same time that he allied himself with the Franks by marrying the sister of the bishop of Como Amalricus. He remained a count throughout the reign of Lothar in Italy, and also gave his son John the title of count – of Seprio, and that only temporarily[82]. John, who attended the coronation of Louis II in 844, was even briefly count of the Palace. But the last attestation of Leo, in 847, shows him as a «judge and vassal» again, commissioned to resolve a court case[83]. Perhaps his comital status, directly linked to his proximity to Lothar, without any link to a county, was no longer relevant once the emperor had left for the north of the Alps.

Leo's place in the aristocracy seems to me comparable to that of Hagano of Lucca. Hagano in charge of a district, Leo with an aulic title without territorial reference, as the *ostiarius* Richard had, who became a count during the Ital-

[78] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, p. 98.
[79] MGH, Capit. II, n. 202, p. 68 (MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, p. 139).
[80] Casauria, III, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911; Böhmer-Zielinski, n. 214, p. 90; Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, pp. 194 and 202, identifies in the bishop Peter that of Arezzo (Peter I), but several others are possible: in Volterra, Genoa, Spoleto.
[81] Castagnetti, *Il conte Leone*; Ciaralli, *Osservazioni*.
[82] Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, p. 153.
[83] Volpini, *Placiti*, n. 3.

ian years of Lothar[84], illustrate the same mobility within the milieu of imperial vassals. However, whether it was based on local influence, cultural expertise, close service of the prince or matrimonial alliance, this mobility could be challenged. Hagano, discharged from his count's office in 845, hoped to continue to receive fiscal resources through a benefice, which placed him among the ranks of vassals. Leo's children, John and Sigeradus, remained or reverted to vassals in their turn, without breaking through further. Since ethnic differences are not responsible for the glass ceiling that separates these men from the representatives of the so-called *Reichsadel*, it must be assumed that the difference is due to their social level rather than to their ethnic identity.

In other cases, one cannot help but think of a real downgrading, as in the case of Winigis, the namesake son of the Frankish duke of Spoleto who died in 822, who did not go beyond the vassalic rank[85]. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the family may have returned to prominence a generation later, if we assume a link with these Winigis of Spoleto and the homonymous count of Siena (865-881). As regards the progression of the Aldobrandeschi, in whom we see the very example of the boost given by vassalage to the promotion of a diocesan elite, is it really so clear? If research on the family has not made it possible to place the count of Lucca Hildiprandus, attested in 822, on a genealogical chart, which has led to the rejection, *e silentio*, of his belonging to the Aldobrandeschi, the onomastics nevertheless strongly suggest a kinship – at least the hypothesis cannot be excluded, since it is based on the same reasoning as all those usually formulated for the transalpine names. The group's beginnings in the aristocracy would in this case be less representative of a breakthrough than of a resilience in the face of political hazards, based on the solidity of the local establishment.

However, more than these nuances or uncertainties, what characterises the vassalage link under the government of Lothar is the use to which it was put to distinguish among the elites competences, other than military or fiscal management. In this, Lothar did not innovate, but made perhaps more systematic use of this instrument than in the past, as far as can be judged from the sparse documentation. Vassalage mainly concerned those who were mobilised for judicial functions: the career of Leo, «vassal and judge» from 801 onwards, offers the best known example. But we can also cite Poto, who subscribed a *notitia* as *causindo regi* in Pistoia in 812 while being presented as a *iudex* by the notary of Pavia who wrote the notice; and the Milanese Autpertus, who sat as an imperial judge towards the end of the 830s but signed as a vassal[86]. The

[84] Richard died before mid-August 839, when Lothar returned to the Church of Reggio what had been taken from his estate to constitute a benefice for him (MGH, DD Lo I / DD Lo II, n. 40); he is said *quondam comes illuster* in 843 (MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 68): Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 364.
[85] Placiti I, n. 35 (a. 823).
[86] *Ibidem*, n. 25 e n. 45 (ChLA2, XCIV, n. 29); Bougard, *Justice*, p. 192; Castagnetti, *Note*, pp. 24-25.

fact that Poto claims a Lombard title (*gasindius*) suggests that a representative of the elite of the previous political regime was included in the judicial college. And since, like Autpertus, he prefers to refer to his connection with the king rather than to his role as a judge, it must be assumed that individuals with a certain culture were selected from the group of vassals to form a pool for the establishment of a specialised judicial staff.

The vassal Rothari of Vigolzone (prov. Piacenza), attested from 847 onwards, who had the title of judge and fulfilled important functions as *advocatus* of the fisc and president of several courts for about ten years in the county of Piacenza, fits the same profile[87]. On the other hand, the case of Aipo, who sat in Siena in 833 as *scabinus* of the city but subscribed *scavino et vasso domni imperatoris*, is the opposite: it was his legal expertise that enabled him to rise above the group of other *scabini* and join that of the vassals[88]. In another sector of activity, in Lucca, we have the physician Auripertus, active in the years 830-840, who took part in a court session as an imperial vassal in 853 and subscribed a donation as an imperial judge the following year[89]. The vassalic qualification thus functioned as a melting pot, bringing together personalities from different backgrounds, which also gave these Lombard vassals a more varied social colouring than that of the transalpine ones.

Being a minor aristocracy placed under the banner of a diversity that is not only ethnic, the world of imperial vassals brings together the following categories. They include the younger sons of the aristocracy already in place; individuals who were vectors of the upward mobility of their group, some for whom being a vassal was an unsurpassable summit, others at the end of their career; people with no particular base but distinguished for their expertise, some active at the level of the kingdom (Leo), others whose horizon did not extend beyond the county (Rothari).

It should not be forgotten that these lay vassals had their ecclesiastical counterpart in the subordinate staff of the chapel or the royal chancery, for whom the information, even though it is not very rich and hardly illustrates anything other than their ascent or their social reproduction, follows similar lines. The notary Liuthadus, active between 825 and 833, perhaps became bishop of Pavia (841-864). Another notary, Macedo, the man in charge of the "*recognitio*" of three diplomas of Louis the Pious in 820 and another two of

[87] Castagnetti, *Sepolture*, pp. 95-106; correct Bougard, *Justice*, p. 193 note 222, who wrongly identifies him with the homonymous *vassus et ministerialis* who received from Louis II a *curtis* in the county of Bergamo in 858.

[88] Placiti I, n. 42 (ChLA², XC, n. 5).

[89] Castagnetti, *Medici*, pp. 28-30. The relations of another Lucchese *medicus*, the cleric Bonifridus (831-843), put him in direct contact with the aristocracy: he held property of the Church of Lucca in benefice and *livellum*, and acquired other property from an imperial vassal (*ibidem*, p. 28). The practice of medicine was not only qualified in Lucca: the vassal Alboinus, a member of the college of courts held by *missi* in 821 in Norcia and in 829 in Rome (Placiti I, nn. 32, 38), could be related to a *medicus* of Rieti of the same name questioned as a witness in 829. The name Alboinus is extremely rare in Farfa's sources.

Lothar in 823-824, was part of the judicial college of the *placitum* held in Lucca by the emperor's *missi* in 840 as abbot of an unidentified monastery[90]. The *palatinus presbyter* Sichardus, present at the Council of Mantua in 827, was perhaps the future abbot of Farfa (830-842)[91]. As for the bishop of Cremona, Panchoardus, he placed his nephew Benedict, a deacon, in the chapel of the young king Louis II, where he is mentioned in 841, which was a way of preparing for the transmission of the episcopal chair within the family some ten years later[92]. Only one Lombard is known within this clergy linked to the palace: Teudilascius, deacon, *vicedominus*, archdeacon of the Church of Lucca between 837 and 852, continued his career as chaplain to Louis II before becoming bishop of Luni[93]. For his family group, the Cunimundinghi, the itinerary is comparable to that of the Aldobrandeschi: in both cases, it is the passage through the court that allows a qualitative leap and the entry into the aristocracy. For the ecclesiastics as well as for the laymen of Lombard circles, it is once again the criterion of the Königsnähe that imposes itself, against the background of an already well-established set of local notables.

The group of imperial vassals and lower-ranking palace ecclesiastics forms the second circle of the aristocracy. To them can be added that of the gastalds, or at least a part of them. Among the lower officers, those who were both in charge of the administration of public resources, and therefore responsible for the imperial fisc, and direct collaborators of the counts, were the only ones whose scope of action went beyond the local horizon. There are numerous testimonies of their proximity to the aristocracy. Some of them are inherent to the function or derive from it: their activity in judicial terms leads them regularly to frequent leading figures and they themselves sometimes preside over courts[94]. They sometimes take the lead in communities, such as the gastald Ursus, the head of a group of 174 persons recorded on the last leaf of the manuscript IV/1 of Sankt Paul in Kärnten – the same one, perhaps, was the *fidejussor* of the count of Cittanova (Modena) in 851.The list was probably drawn up in connection with the organisation of the military campaign of 848[95]. Their possessions, when they can be located, are close to those of the fisc. they may have had their own vassals[96]. Finally, the equivalence established in the 850s between the office of gastald of the city and that of viscount, as can be seen in Milan with Waldericus, brings the holder closer to the

[90] MGH, DD Lo I / DD Lo II, p. 15; Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 324.
[91] MGH, Conc. II, p. 587.
[92] Placiti I, *Inquisitiones*, n. VII; Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, p. 227.
[93] Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 135-136.
[94] Placiti I, n. 34 (ChLA², XCIV, n. 11b [822, Lucca]); *ibidem*, n. 39 (a. 829, Camerino); *ibidem*, n. 50 (a. 845, Falagrine).
[95] Bassetti, *Codice*; Esders – Bassetti – Haubrichs, *Treue*; ChLA², XCII, n. 7.
[96] As Waldericus of Milan in 855 (ChLA², XCV, n. 8). On him Hlawitschka, *Franken*, p. 278; Castagnetti, *Lociservatores*, pp. 69-72; Castagnetti, *La società milanese*, pp. 183-189; Santos Salazar, *Governare*, pp. 198-200. Waldericus witnesses the donation of Alpchar in 842 (ChLA², XCIV, n. 31; see *supra*, note 19).

count's milieu[97]. It is true that the equivalence between gastald and viscount is not verified everywhere: in Lucca, the *gastaldius civitatis* Peter (835-847) gradually replaces his title with that of *scabinus* in the 840s[98]. Nevertheless, as for the links with the Church aristocracy in Lucca, the Frankish gastald Baldericus exchanged possessions with the bishop and subscribed to *livelli* granted by him to other Franks[99].

As with the vassals, the office of gastald may have been marked by a certain porosity with regard to other functions related to the exercise of justice: thus, in Lucca, for example, Peter was active as gastald in the 830s, then as *gastaldus et iudex* in 840 (where he supervised a group of *missi* representing Eriprandus in an exchange with the episcopal Church), and then as *gastaldus et schabinus* in 842[100]. If the phenomenon is of the same order as that which led to vassals also being imperial judges, these mentions also place gastalds at a lower level than the vassals – which would tend to be confirmed by the fact that the previously mentioned gastald of Lucca Peter cannot write. However, there is no shortage of examples indicating that the gastaldate could be a stepping stone to the upper strata. Some families that had multiple gastalds in their ranks, such as the Emilian gastald Mauringus (824), father and father-in-law of two gastalds active in the years 840-880, "produced" a count in the third generation, in the person of Gandolfus of Piacenza[101]. Other family paths could have led to the episcopate, as Tachimpaldus of Bergamo (797-814), the son of a gastald, had shown very early on. This was not necessarily a matter of social progression, but rather of the circulation of offices within the same group, as the example of the bishop of Pisa Raghinardus (796-803), whose namesakes were gastalds in the years 840-850, would tend to show[102]. It should also be remembered that a Lucchese gastald mentioned in 848 was called Eriprandus and was sometimes identified with the homonymous vassal[103]; at the very least, a reasonable hypothesis can be made of a family link between the two. The first indication of proximity to the higher aristocracy remains onomastic: we have seen that the name of the gastald Leodoinus refers to the Widonids; that of Mauringus (824), also in Emilia, evokes the Supponids.

5. *Social practices: some examples*

I have not discussed the aristocratic social practices themselves and the lifestyle and display issues. I will limit myself to two points. In this field, im-

[97] Placiti I, n. 64 (ChLA², XCV, n. 16).
[98] Castagnetti, *Inquisitio*, pp. 115-130.
[99] Castagnetti, *Vassalli*, pp. 244-245.
[100] ChLA², LXXVII, nn. 1 (a. 835), 10 (a. 838), 41 (a. 840); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 1 (a. 842); Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, p. 182; Bougard, *Justice*, p. 145; Castagnetti, *Inquisitio*, pp. 115-130.
[101] Bougard, *Gandolfingi*, p. 39.
[102] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, pp. 183-184.
[103] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca*, p. 183; *contra*, Collavini, *Aldobrandeschi*, p. 44.

itation phenomena probably prevail. Firstly, there is no exclusivity in having one's own vassalic clientele, present at all levels. The most complete lists are provided by the record of the *inquisitio* held in Cremona in 841, where fifteen vassals of the bishop and twenty others of the count of Brescia Adalgisus, who presided over the debates, were present[104]. Assuming that the bishop and the count had recalled their entire clientele, this allows for an estimate of well over a thousand individuals for the whole kingdom. It is not known what the precise content of their relationship with their *seniores* was, apart from their appearance in full numbers in public meetings, but it is known that among them may have been members of their kin, assigned for example to domestic duties, such as Gerardus, relative, *vassus* and *cubicularius* of the bishop of Verona Billongus[105]. They also had a role in the maintenance of the memory: Fulchernus and Gerardus must feed the poor "sufficiently" each month for the soul of Bishop Billongus and his parents, in addition to paying an annual sum of five *solidi* to the *schola sacerdotum* of Verona[106].

The minor aristocracy also had vassals, even if they had to be counted by the unit or a few units: thus, the imperial vassal Ernost and the Milanese gastald Waldericus[107]. For others, not considered until now, could the fact of having vassals be an indication of belonging to the aristocracy[108]? The question may be asked of the Veronese *sculdassius* Vualtarius who, in the assembly convened in 854, was present in the first place to record the declaration of obedience of a women's abbey to Santa Maria in Organo: he had at least one vassal, Alaman[109]. The same attention must be paid to those who had vassals independently of any public office but were not totally alien to that sphere. Thus, for Engelbertus of Erbé, of Lombard law (846), who was perhaps more than a simple "big landlord", if only because of his kinship with the abbot of San Zeno of Verona Ebbo[110]. Or the *monetarius* of Pavia, Theodorus, whose two vassals travelled with him in 849 to Milan for the sale of his property in Saronno, reaching the very high sum of twelve pounds paid in coinage[111]: if his wealth is obviously derived from his function, his social stature is perhaps linked to the fact that coinage was under the direct control of the palace.

[104] Placiti I, *Inquisitiones*, n. VII.
[105] ChLA², LX, n. 26 (a. 846). The fact that Billongus, in his will, gives the usufruct of his estates to two of his relatives, Fulchernus and Gerardus, who are also his vassals, and then that, further on in the document, mention is made of an *alius* Gerardus *vassus and cubicularius meus*, leads Varanini, *Aspetti*, p. 206, to see in the latter a homonym "of low extraction" of the former; but the homonymy could also be an argument in favour of the fact that this Gerardus was also a relative of Billongus.
[106] Gasparri, *Testamenti*, p. 104.
[107] ChLA², XCIV, n. 12; ChLA², XCV, n. 8.
[108] The list provided by Budriesi Trombetti, *Ricerche*, p. 22 (*Vassalli di persone con titoli vari o senza titolo specificato*), is notoriously incomplete.
[109] ChLA², LIX, n. 19.
[110] ChLA², LX, n. 25. Gasparri, *Testamenti*, p. 106: «tipico esponente di un'aristocrazia di livello provinciale».
[111] ChLA², XCIV, n. 41. Castagnetti, *Monetieri*, p. 24.

In other cases, having a vassal is a sign of an ascending career: is it by chance that the Veronese deacon and later archdeacon Audo, Lombard, had vassals who witnessed his land transactions in 829 and 856, when we know that he became a bishop (860)[112]?

We can thus guess that vassalage has a double function. On the one hand, it is integrative as an instrument for creating an artificial kinship on which the aristocratic quality of the *senior* rubs off onto the vassal (this is particularly important for the clerics whose natural family is not always an extended one, at least in the direct line). On the other hand, it is imitative of a social practice of distinction. From this point of view, the documentary practice, such as the wills in the first place, offers a good picture of the position of vassals and the spread of the "vassalic model" through the expression of the awareness of the self, awareness of the family group and awareness of those who gravitate around it[113].

Another indicator is the relationship with religious foundations. San Salvatore of Brescia was entrusted as a benefice to the Empress Judith before 825, perhaps as early as her marriage to Louis the Pious in 819[114]. It is tempting to draw a parallel with the appointment of Richilda, Boniface II's sister, as abbess of Saint Benedict and Scholastica in Lucca in 823: an initiative of a quasi-princely order, if we think that this monastery, in the immediate vicinity of the ducal residence, could be considered its "palatine chapel"[115]. As, in another political context, the will of the doge Justinian Particiacus (829) shows, the high aristocracy, although not exclusively linked to these women's foundations, seems to have played a leading role in most of them[116]. To find out more, at least in Brescia, the commemorative lists would be the most precious witness, but they postdate Lothar, even if it was he who gave a starting point to the monastic sociability of the transalpine elites in Brescia by entrusting the monastery to his wife Ermengarda and by placing his daughter Gisla there in 848[117]. The *Liber memorialis* of Reichenau, however, has preserved a list of the nuns of San Salvatore written around 829, but too little is known about the female names for it to be truly usable. At most, it suggests that a significant proportion of the nuns were of Lombard origin, which is no longer the case in the 850s and confirms the ethnic closure of the high aristocracy. The *Liber* of Reichenau also contains a list of the deceased from Saint Peter of Novalesa, dating from the 840s. Among them

[112] ChLA², LIX, n. 7 e n. 21. Castagnetti, *Teutisci*, pp. 154-157. Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*.
[113] Gasparri, *Testamenti*, p. 113.
[114] MGH, DD LdF, n. 246 (ChLA², XCIX, n. 6; Cossandi, *Carte di San Salvatore e Santa Giulia di Brescia,* n. 25).
[115] The identification of San Benedetto e Scolastica with the ducal palace church dedicated to Benedict is provided by an 11th/12th century note on the back of the 823 document (ChLA², LXXV, n. 20): «de ecclesia Sancti Benedicti sita ad Palatiu». On the palace, Tomei, *Power*.
[116] *SS. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, n. 2; Gasparri, *Testamenti*, p. 110.
[117] MGH, DD Lo I / DD Lo II, n. 101.

are Autramnus, Ardingus, Berengarius, Gamanolfus: all names that relate to families mentioned several times[118].

At a time when the number of church and monastery foundations was drastically reduced compared to the trend of the eighth century, and at the same time as they were increasingly subject to episcopal control, the initiatives of various people were all the more significant. The geographical proximity of Hugh of Tours and his wife Ava to Saint John of Monza made it unnecessary to think of anything other than a rapprochement in the form of a burial choice with a prestigious sanctuary[119], but there was no lack of other initiatives, however few in number. The most significant are those at the lower levels. The foundation of Saint Alexander's of Parma by Cunegonda is part of the "normal" piety of the sovereigns. But the case of the Frankish vassal Erembertus, founder of San Siro in Leggiuno, who was given relics of the martyr by Pope Sergius II, is particularly noteworthy, though quite unique in the documentation[120]. The church is the place where the family memory is maintained with two commemorative inscriptions, one of which states that Erembertus is a *vir illustris*. Above all, it is an instrument for the promotion of the family itself, since it can be assumed that the possession of this status symbol was not unrelated to Ermenulfus, son of Erembertus, obtaining the title of count during the reign of Louis II[121]. A comparable example, though one about which there is very little information, could be the foundation in Pavia, before 851, of the *monasterium Sigemarii*, by a certain Sigemarius who, we can assume, was an imperial vassal[122].

As with the vassalic clientele, the ability to found a church also characterises those on the edge of the aristocracy. Thus we have the Veronese archdeacon Audo, already mentioned, who, in the 850s, founded a church/monastery dedicated to the martyr Lawrence on his lands, in Sezano, where he placed his cousin as abbess, and to which the imperial chaplain Hubert was linked, with whom a *precaria* was contracted[123]; or the Milanese *scabinus* Werulfus-Podo (833-871), who was the executor of the will of the brother of the imperial vassal Ernost, Unger, and founded the urban church of Santa Maria *Podonis* (Santa Maria di Cinque vie)[124]. Werulfus-Podo is the only *scabinus* known

[118] *Das Verbrüderungsbuch Reichenau*, manuscript p. IX; Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, pp. 161-162.
[119] *Supra*, note 40.
[120] Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, pp. 43-44, considers that the mention of *loca venerabilia* in the mutual donation made by the vassal Ernost and his wife Weltruta in 823 refers to foundations that they would have made (ChLA², XCVII, n. 1: «post tuum ovitum deveniat in loca illa veneravilia, ubi nos pariter consensueremus aut constitueremus»), but nothing of the sort can be derived from this devolution clause.
[121] Castagnetti, *Una famiglia*.
[122] Settia, *Nella Pavia carolingia*; Bougard, Minima Ticinensia. Sigemarius is a rare name; note that a Sigemarius witnesses charters of the vassal Ernost in 812 and 823 (ChLA², XCIV, n. 8 e n. 12).
[123] ChLA², LIX, n. 20 e n. 21.
[124] ChLA², XCIV, n. 23; Castagnetti, *Società milanese*, pp. 253-260; De Angelis, *Scabini*, pp. 59-60; Santos Salazar, *Governare*, pp. 205-206.

to me as *erogator*, which is in itself an indication of social recognition and a manifestation of belonging to an artificial kinship.

6. *Conclusions*

The "Lothar moment", conditioned by its political ups and downs, should be seen as a time of closure, or of a more pronounced control over the aristocracy holding offices by immigrants from north of the Alps than in the first decades of Carolingian rule. Admittedly, not all the individuals mentioned in the sources can be identified with any precision, and many remain no more than names: but beyond the hypotheses put forward as to the connection between this or that individual or that family group, hypotheses whose fragility will have escaped no one, onomastics is constantly that of the Franks, the Alamanni and the Bavarians, at a time when intermarriages likely to neutralise the ethnic dimension of names were not commonplace. By maintaining or reinforcing the ethnic divide, this closure at the top could only slow down the aristocratisation of the Lombard elite. The monopolising of offices also led to a difference in access to the aristocratic group itself: whereas for the transalpine set, the office or membership of the group of vassals was in some way guaranteed by their very settling in Italy, for the Lombards the criterion of wealth was a prerequisite for passing to the *Königsnähe*. Above all, since county, episcopal or abbatial offices were always reserved as if they were a right for the exogenous aristocracy, it was through vassalage that the Lombard notables were able to occupy positions, thus preparing their ascent during the decades after Lothar. Vassalage also functioned as a melting pot, which led to an "aristocratisation" of expertise: legal – mainly in Pavia, but not exclusively – medical and monetary. This channel of upward mobility ultimately stretched the social reach of the aristocracy. Social practices, on the other hand, encouraged a certain amount of mixing on the fringes of the aristocracy itself through imitation.

Two examples illustrate the phenomena of closure or opening of the aristocratic group during the reign of Lothar. The first is in Abruzzo. At the latest in the early 820s, in Valva, a certain Liutprand gave birth to a son who was named Karolus. The fact that the father was named after the most illustrious of the Lombard kings is already significant: we know of no parents who wished to name their son Desiderius, after the king defeated by the Franks. But the fact that Liutprand made a similar choice for his own child, taking note of the change in political regime, is even more significant. Karolus was thus «at the junction of two political memories»[125] at the time when Lothar took over the kingdom of Italy. However, it was not a question of expressing membership of the highest strata of society, but of expressing an aspiration to

[125] Feller, Germain, Weber, *Karol*, p. 54.

enter it. Liutprand's initiative was clumsy, to say the least, for no one in the aristocracy, whether Lombard or Frankish, would have thought of naming their son Charles, a name reserved for the reigning dynasty – the names Pippin and Bernard were of less exclusive use. What we know of Karolus' personal and family history shows that he certainly associated with people who could be considered part of the local aristocracy, that he made alliances with them, but that neither his personal success nor that of his children, which was more contrasted, allows us to see him as an "aristocrat". However programmatic it may be, a name cannot do everything. On the contrary, and this is the second example, having a title in the feminine, at a level generally considered inferior, could well be a sign of belonging to the aristocracy, or of an aristocratisation in progress: thus, in 841, in Verona, is the *sculdarissa* Hermindrut/Ermintrud[126]. Wearing a title equivalent in lexical formation to that of *comitisssa* or *ducarissa* was for her a manifestation of distinction on a practical basis. While the aristocratic elite was not intentionally "open" to newcomers, nevertheless it had to accept a degree of upward social mobility entering its ranks.

[126] ChLA², LIX, n. 15; La Voy, *Hirmindrut*; Bassetti, *Novità lessicali*, pp. 248-252; Betti, *Irmintrude*.

Works cited

S. Airlie, *The aristocracy*, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History,* vol. 2*, c. 700-c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, pp. 431-450.

Annales de Saint-Bertin, ed. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet, Paris 1964.

Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, Hannover 1995, pp. 279-555 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

M. Bassetti, *Un codice e una lista. I codici di leggi e il loro uso in Italia carolingia. Note intorno al Kruftische Codex (Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, 4/1)*, Spoleto 2023 (Studi, 23).

M. Bassetti, *Novità lessicali nel latino dei documenti privati del Veneto medievale (secoli X-XII)*, in «Archivum latinitatis medii aevi», 74 (2016), pp. 239-260.

M. Betti, *Irmintrude* sculdarissa*: un titolo al femminile nella Verona carolingia*, in «Studi di storia medioevale e di diplomatica», n.s., 7 (2023), pp. 31-50.

P. Bonacini, *Terre d'Emilia. Distretti pubblici, comunità locali e poteri signorili nell'esperienza di una regione italiana (secoli VIII-XII)*, Bologna 2001 (Biblioteca di storia agraria medievale, 19).

M. Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit*, Sigmaringen 1986 (Archäologie und Geschichte, 2).

F. Bougard**,** *De Charlemagne à Pépin: l'affermissement du régime carolingien en Italie (780-782)*, in Spes Italiae. *The Kingdom of Pippin, the Carolingians and Italy (781-810)*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2022 (Haut Moyen Âge, 44), pp. 25-40.

F. Bougard, *Entre Gandolfingi et Obertenghi : les comtes de Plaisance aux X^e^ et XI^e^ siècles*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 101 (1989), pp. 11-66.

F. Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie de la fin du VIII^e^ siècle au début du XI^e^ siècle*, Rome 1995 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 291).

F. Bougard, *Laien als Amtsträger: über die Grafen des regnum Italiae*, in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, ed. W. Pohl, V. Wieser, Wien 2009 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 16), pp. 201-2015.

F. Bougard, *En marge du divorce de Lothaire II: Boson de Vienne, le cocu qui fut fait roi?*, in «Francia», 27 (2000), pp. 33-51.

F. Bougard, Minima Ticinensia, in «Castrum paene in mundo singulare». *Scritti per Aldo Settia in occasione del novantesimo compleanno*, ed. S. Caldano, G. De Angelis, C. La Rocca, Genova 2023, pp. 122-131.

F. Bougard, *Les Supponides: échec à la reine*, in *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge: crises et renouvellements*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006 (Haut Moyen Âge, 1), pp. 381-401.

P. Cammarosano, *Nobili e re: l'Italia politica dell'alto Medioevo*, Bari 1998.

Le carte del monastero di San Salvatore e Santa Giulia di Brescia, I (759-1170), ed. G. Cossandi, Spoleto 2020.

A. Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della* Langobardia *nelle città e nei territori rurali*, in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali*, Spoleto 2009 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 56), pp. 539-618.

A. Castagnetti, *Il conte Leone (841-847) e i suoi figli (840-881) nell'amministrazione missatica della giustizia*, in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti*, vol. 2, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2007, pp. 7-126.

A. Castagnetti, *Una famiglia di immigrati nell'alta Lombardia al servizio del Regno (846-898)*, Verona 2004.

A. Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio dei missi imperiali per S. Frediano di Lucca (838)*, Verona 2020.

A. Castagnetti, *Lociservatores, locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia*, in *Dentro e fuori la Sicilia: studi di storia per Vincenzo D'Alessandro*, ed. P. Corrao, I. Mineo, Rome 2009, pp. 45-78.

A. Castagnetti, *Medici nella Tuscia longobarda e carolingia*, in «Studi storici Luigi Simeoni», 62 (2012), pp. 19-32.

A. Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche dominanti e rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari. Alamanni e Franchi a Verona e nel Veneto in età carolingia e postcarolingia*, Verona 1990.

A. Castagnetti, *Monetieri nei secoli VIII e IX*, in «Studi storici Luigi Simeoni», 60 (2010), pp. 19-29.

A. Castagnetti, *Note e documenti intorno alla caratterizzazione professionale dei giudici (secoli IX-inizio X)*, Verona 2008.

A. Castagnetti, *Sepolture di laici in chiese di Piacenza e di Parma (secolo IX)*, Verona 2015.
A. Castagnetti, *La società milanese in età carolingia*, Verona 2017.
A. Castagnetti, *Transalpini e vassalli in area milanese (secolo IX)*, in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti*, vol. 1, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2005, pp. 7-109.
A. Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali a Lucca in età carolingia*, in *Il patrimonio documentario della Chiesa di Lucca: prospettive di ricerca*, ed. S. Pagano, P. Piatti, Firenze 2010 (Toscana sacra, 2), pp. 211-284.
A. Ciaralli, *Osservazioni paleografiche sulle scritture del conte Leone e dei suoi figli*, in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti*, vol. 2, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2007, pp. 127-149.
Codice diplomatico veronese dalla caduta dell'impero romano alla fine del periodo carolingio, ed. V. Fainelli, Verona 1940 (Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, n.s., 1).
S.M. Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura nella Tuscia dei secoli IX-XI*, in «Scrittura e civiltà», 18 (1994), pp. 23-51.
S.M. Collavini, «Honorabilis domus et spetiosissimus comitatus». *Gli Aldobrandeschi da «conti» a «principi territoriali» (secoli IX-XIII)*, Pisa 1998.
S.M. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle élites laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge, 5), pp. 319-340.
E. Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana. Sette secoli (VI-XII)*, Spoleto 2017 (Istituzioni e società, 23).
M. Costambeys, M. Innes, S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2011.
G. De Angelis, *Aganone vescovo e la scrittura carolina a Bergamo alla metà del IX secolo: dinamiche ed eredità di un'innovazione culturale*, in «Scrineum Rivista», 4 (2006-2007), pp. 5-34.
G. De Angelis, *Scabini e altri ufficiali pubblici minori in Lombardia in età carolingia e postcarolingia. Profili, mobilità, culture grafiche partecipazione ai processi documentari*, in «Scrineum Rivista», 16 (2019), pp. 57-114.
P. Delogu, *Il Regno Longobardo*, in *Longobardi e Bizantini*, ed. P. Delogu, A. Guillou, G. Ortalli, Torino 1980 (Storia d'Italia diretta da G. Galasso, 1), pp. 1-216.
P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux, 781-840*, Sigmaringen 1997 (Instrumenta, 1).
S. Esders, M. Bassetti, W. Haubrichs, *Verwaltete Treue. Ein oberitalienisches Originalverzeichnis mit den Namen von 174 vereidigten Personen aus der Zeit Lothars I. und Ludwigs II*, Berlin-Boston, 2024 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 146).
L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales. Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IX^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, Rome 1998 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 300).
L. Feller, A. Germain, F. Weber, *La fortune de Karol. Marché de la terre et liens personnels dans les Abruzzes au haut Moyen Âge*, Rome 2005 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 347).
J. Fischer, *Königtum, Adel und Kirche im Königreich Italien (774-875)*, Bonn 1965.
J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, I: Grundlegung. Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, Stuttgart 1959 (MGH, Schriften, 16, 1).
S. Gasparri, *Les relations de fidélité dans le royaume d'Italie au IX^e^ siècle*, in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX^e^ siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan, Lille 1998, pp. 145-157.
S. Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo*, in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, C. La Rocca, R. Le Jan, Rome 2005 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 351), pp. 97-113.
H.-W. Goetz, *Nobilis. Der Adel im Selbstverständnis der Karolingerzeit* [1983], in H.-W. Goetz, *Vortellungsgeschichte. Gesammelte Schriften zu Wahrnehmungen, Deutungen und Vorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Aurast et al., Bochum 2007, pp. 173-205.
C.I. Hammer, *From Ducatus to Regnum. Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and early Carolingians*, Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge, 2).
E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960 (Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 8).
E. Hlawitschka, *Ratold, Bischof von Verona und Begründer von Radolfzell*, in «Hegau», 54-55 (1997-1998), pp. 5-44.

E. Hlawitschka, *Die Widonen im Dukat von Spoleto* [1983], in E. Hlawithschka, *Stirps regia. Forschungen zu Königtum und Führungsschichten im früheren Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze. Festgabe zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, pp. 123-147.
J. Jarnut, *Bergamo 568-1098. Storia istituzionale sociale ed economica di una città lombarda nell'alto medioevo*, Bergamo 1980.
H. Keller, *Zur Struktur der Königsherrschaft im karolingischen und nachkarolingischen Italien. Der „consiliarius regis" in den italienischen Königsdiplomen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 47 (1967), pp. 123-223.
H. Krahwinkler, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter: Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 1992 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung; 30).
R. Kottje, review of K. Schmid, *Kloster Hirsau und seine Stifter*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1959, in «Rheinisches Vierteljahrsblätter», 25 (1960), pp. 175-179.
H. La Voy, *Hirmindrut sculdarissa: a ninth-century woman's original lettter and its implications*, in «Journal of Medieval Latin», 25 (2015), pp. 29-50.
U. Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liber vitae von San Salvatore in Brescia und des Evangeliars von Cividale*, Hannover 1999 (MGH, Studien und Texte, 25).
N. Mancassola, *Uomini senza storia. La piccola proprietà rurale nel territorio di Piacenza dalla conquista carolingia alle invasioni ungariche (774-900)*, Spoleto 2013 (Istituzioni e società, 19).
Medioevo. Studi e documenti, 2 vol., ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2005-2007.
Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 4).
P. Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, Sozialverhältnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin 2021 (Europa im Mittelalter, 38).
L. Provero, *Chiese e dinastie nel mondo carolingio*, in *Storia di Parma*, vol. 3, 1: *Parma medievale. Poteri e istituzioni*, ed. R. Greci, Parma 2010, pp. 41-67.
I. Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia (774-924)*, Rome 2021 (Altomedioevo. Nuova serie, 9).
I. Santos Salazar, *Una terra contesa. Spazi, poteri e società nell'Emilia orientale dei secoli VI-X*, Firenze 2011 (Le vie della storia, 83).
M. Schäpers, *Lothar I. (795-855) und das Frankenreich*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2018 (Rheinisches Archiv, 159).
K. Schmid, *Sankt Aurelius in Hirsau 830(?)-1049/75. Bemerkungen zur Traditionskritik und zur Gründerproblematik*, in *Hirsau, St. Peter und Paul 1091-1991*, II: *Geschichte, Lebens- und Verfassungsformen eines Reformklosters*, ed. K. Schreiner, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 11-43.
H. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana*, Tübingen 1972 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 41).
A.A. Settia, *Nella Pavia carolingia: dal «monasterium Sigemarii» al Siccomario*, in «Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria», 121 (2021), pp. 163-191.
Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio, ed. L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, Venezia 1965 (Fonti per la storia di Venezia, sez. II, Archivi ecclesiastici, Diocesi Castellana).
P. Štih, *On the Raetian-Alamannic connections with Istria, Dalmatia and Carantania in the Carolingian ages – Two examples*, in Aspice hunc opus mirum. *Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Nikole Jakšića. Festschrift on the occasion of Nikola Jakšić's 70th birthday*, ed. I. Josipović, M. Jurković, Zadar 2020 (Dissertationes et monographiae, 15), pp. 171-184.
M. Stoffella, *Le relazioni tra Baviera e Toscana tra VIII e IX secolo: appunti e riflessioni preliminari*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 120 (2008), pp. 75-87.
G. Tellenbach, *Der grossfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches* [1957], in G. Tellenbach, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1988, pp. 795-825.
G. Tellenbach, *Königtum und Stämme in der Werdezeit des Deutschen Reiches*, Weimar 1939 (Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit, VII, 4).

G. Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'augusta badia di San Silvestro di Nonantola*, II, Modena 1785.
P. Tomei, Milites elegantes. *Le strutture aristocratiche nel territorio lucchese (896–1100 c.)*, Firenze 2019 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 34).
P. Tomei, *The power of the gift. Early medieval Lucca and its court*, in *Origins of a New Economic Union (7th-12th Centuries). Preliminary Reports of the nEU-Med Project: October 2015-March 2017*, ed. G. Bianchi, R. Hodges, Firenze 2018 (Biblioteca di Archeologia medievale, 25), pp. 123-133.
P. Tomei, *Spazi politici e strutture parentali nella galassia carolingia. Gli Adalberti fra Baviera, Toscana e Provenza*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 181 (2023), pp. 685-727.
P. Tomei, *Writing, textuality, politics in Lucca of bishops Berengar and Ambroise (837-852)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 157-180.
A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Prime ricerche sul vocabolario feudale italiano*, Bologna 1974 (abstract of *Atti della Accademia delle scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali, Rendiconti* 62 [1973-1974], pp. 277-401, with own pagination).
G.M. Varanini, *Aspetti della società urbana nei secoli IX-X*, in *Il Veneto nel Medioevo. Dalla "Venetia" alla Marca veronese*, ed. A. Castagnetti, G.M. Varanini, Verona 1989, pp. 199-235.
Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau. Einleitung, Register, Faksimile, ed. J. Autenrieth, U. Ludwig, K. Schmid, Hannover 1979 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).
F. Veronese, *Un franco (anzi, due) in Brianza. Gli ultimi anni di Ugo di Tours e sua moglie Ava (834-39)*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020, pp. 155-163.
C. Violante, *Marchesi, conti e visconti tra circoscrizioni d'ufficio signorie e feudi nel Regno italico (secc. IX-XII). Dal primo al secondo convegno di Pisa: 1983-1993*, in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo: marchesi conti e visconti nel Regno italico (secc. IX-XII).* Atti del secondo convegno di Pisa, 3-4 dicembre 1993, Roma 1996 (Nuovi studi storici, 39), pp. 1-19.
R. Volpini, *Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae' (secc. IX-XI). Primi contributi per un nuovo censimento*, in *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia medioevale [dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore]*, vol. 3, ed. P. Zerbi, Milan 1975 (Scienze storiche, 12), p. 245-520.
C. Wickham, *The changing composition of early élites*, in *Théorie et pratiques des élites au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, H.-W. Goetz, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2011 (Haut Moyen Âge, 13), pp. 5-18.
C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean World, 400-800*, Oxford 2005.
C. Wickham, *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città, 900-1150*, Roma 2013.
A. Zettler, *I conti carolingi di Verona. Riflessioni e tentativi* [2009], in A. Zettler, Per altam Germaniam ad Italiam. *Studi transalpini tra archeologia e storia*, ed. E.-M. Butz, P. Erhart, Spoleto 2022 (Collectanea, 36), pp. 243-270.

François Bougard
CNRS, Paris (France)
f.bougard@irht.cnrs.fr
0000-0001-8540-8141

Lothar I and the visibility of the female aristocracy

by Cristina La Rocca

The descriptions of the female aristocracy in the age of Lothar I differ somewhat from those of the preceding and following age: in general, women do not appear on the scene as a source of conflict or scandal, but instead seem to hide behind a stereotyped and aseptic image. This seems to apply especially to Lothar I's bride, Ermengard. However, a broader analysis shows that, in practice, the empress's political interventions greatly contributed to the acceptance of Lothar in the vast imperial space. Conversely, the control of women's behaviour was a very important issue in defining Lothar's imperial authority. This is shown by his decision to punish the nun Gerberga of Chalon-sur-Saône and to increase the protection around the royal nunnery of Santa Maria Teodota in Pavia. In the age of Lothar, the imperial power over women underlines his ability to potentially avoid the problems linked to the impurity of women's bodies, their sexuality and the political turmoil.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Carolingian Italy; Female aristocracy; queenship.

Cristina La Rocca, University of Padua, Italy, mariacristina.larocca@unipd.it, 0000-0001-8634-9809

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Cristina La Rocca, *Lothar I and the visibility of the female aristocracy*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.05, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 45-68, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations
MGH, AB = *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1883 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 5).
MGH, Astronomus, *Vita* = Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, Hannover 1995, pp. 279-555 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).
MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).
MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).
MGH, Conc. II = *Concilia aevi Karolini,* 2 vol., ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover-Leipzig 1906-1908 (MGH, Conc., 2).
MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin 1966 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).
MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).
MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler et al., Berlin 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).
MGH, Thegan, *Gesta* = Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 168-277 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

1. *Introduction*

In 2014, Eric Bournazel in his article *Réflexions sur le roles et la place des reines mérovingiennes* in the context of the 62nd Spoleto week dedicated to the courts in the early middle ages, concluded his reasoning on the sexual and political effervescence of Merovingian queens with the contrasting image of Carolingian ones: «Quant à la reine carolingienne, dans cet univers royal lignager résolument masculin, il ne lui restera – apparemment – qu'à se consacrer aux bons œuvres, aux travaux de broderie, et au délices de la procréation canoniquement assistée. Et le génie féminin fera le reste»[1]. This statement may seem absurd and paradoxical in the eyes of early medievalists, in the light of the research carried out in the even recent past, which shows both the political role and the visible importance of the royal couple, and of the queens in particular[2]. As Matthew Innes has pointed out «The narratives which recast queenly government (...) were not simply personal or contingent: they were part and parcel of the processes by which the Carolingian regime renewed and reproduced itself»[3].

[1] Bournazel, *Réflexions*, p. 428.
[2] I refer in particular to the pioneering research of Pauline Stafford, from which I would like to point out: Stafford, *The King's Wife in Wessex*; Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*; Stafford, *Queens and treasure*; Stafford, *Fathers and Daughters*; to the numerous works of Janet L. Nelson, now collected in the volume Nelson, *Courts, elites, and gendered power* among which we should at least point out: Nelson, *The wary widow*; Nelson, *Bertrada*; Nelson, *Making a difference in eight-century politics*; Nelson, *Gendering Courts in the Early Medieval West*. See also the seminal Nelson, *Women at the court of Charlemagne*; by the same author, also Nelson, *Du couple et des couples*. Moreover, the role of Carolingian queens within the *consortium regni* – a model emanating from the royal couple – has been appropriately emphasised by Régine Le Jan: Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*; Le Jan, *L'épouse du comte*; Le Jan, *Le couple aristocratique*; Le Jan, *Les reines franques du VI^e au X^e siècle*.
[3] Innes, *Queenship in Dispute*, p. 247.

Paradoxically, however, Bournazel's statement emphasises a relatively significant aspect, namely the documentary visibility of the female aristocracy during the reign of Lothar. This is the fact that the crisis that had beleaguered above all the last decade of the reign of Louis the Pious (830-840)[4], had clarified the ambivalent meanings and the political instrumentation that could be experienced and implemented in relation to the Empress Judith's body, and the female body in general. Lothar himself had also used this on several occasions, to accuse Judith and remove her from the court. At the same time, however, he had also taken counter-measures to prevent the same issues from turning against him and his own wife. It is not strange, then, that the paradoxical sides inherent in the very imbalance of Carolingian ideology – which sought to balance the king's corrective and punitive power with his ability and need to act as mediator[5], while at the same time keeping faith with the inalienable privileges of the aristocracy and aristocratic masculinity in particular – have been oriented, even in recent studies, towards offering a negative and vexatious moral judgement of Lothar and his actions, somehow disregarding the internal logic of that system. For Lothar, the need severely to punish those who evaded the rules was implicitly united with the opposite need to mediate, in order to keep his group of loyalists cohesive and to preserve his royal and male reputation immaculate.

It is not a question, then, of giving Lothar a negative or positive judgement, but instead of trying to understand what his course of action was in the context of a crucial issue: that of controlling the dysfunctionalities within the system itself. These derived, additionally, from understanding and defining the power of women, their subtle and fluid capacity to intervene informally in the outlines of politics, but also to violate its rules, thanks to their family networks.

2. *The queen and her integrity*

As has been amply demonstrated, in the late 920s and especially in the early years of the following decade[6], the polemic against Judith, Louis' second wife, had been very instructive in terms of the circumstances which it would be expedient to avoid in the future. Questioning her marital loyalty to the emperor had triggered an almost exasperating series of oppositions and contrasts, of texts and counter-texts. The focus of the controversy at court had centred on the scandal of the empress's alleged adulterous union with Bernard of Septimania, with the violation of the *thorum imperiale*[7] having

[4] See first of all the essential contribution of de Jong, *The Penitential State*, in defining the elements that determined it; see also Bührer-Thierry, *"Just Anger"*.
[5] Nelson, *Kings with Justice*; MacLean, *Kingship and politics*.
[6] de Jong, *Exegesis for an emperess*.
[7] Bührer-Thierry, *"Just Anger"*.

potentially unpredictable results. For some, such as Agobard of Lyon, Judith was certainly at the centre of all criticism: if at first she had proved obedient to her husband, later she had been the cause of turmoil and ruin[8]. However, these same accusations had, at the same time, highlighted the incapacity and sexual inadequacy of Louis, her elderly husband, deeply discrediting the very performative credibility of the political regime in place[9]. In other words, the accusations made about Judith's credibility as a wife had turned against Louis' credibility as a husband. Finally, the very name of Judith had been elided, for example by Nithard, in the discordant narratives on the imperial crisis of the years 830-834.[10]

The second point that had certainly attracted Lothar's attention was related to the dangers connected with a second marriage: the ideology promoted *first and foremost* by Louis the Pious and Jonas of Orléans in the 820s had theorised about the necessity for women, but also for men, to remain faithful forever to their spouse, even during widowhood[11]. It was, therefore, a matter of broadening the issues of a late antique problem and model – the positive one of *univira* – that was primarily aimed at resolving intra-familial conflicts concerning the transmission of the paternal inheritance to first-born children in relation to the rights of any children resulting from subsequent unions[12]. In this context, the property donated by the husband's family to the bride at the time of the marriage was undoubtedly the focal point of conflict and attention. The second marriage of Louis the Pious to Judith, however, had called this very assumption into question, and had made it possible to ascertain, especially after the birth of Charles the Bald (823), that the material consequences of a father's second marriage could also turn into a source of discord and ruin: in his new version of the *De ordine laicali* (828), dedicated not only to Count Matfrid of Orléans, but in general to all public officials, Jonas had in fact insisted that husband and wife should behave in an absolutely similar manner. Husbands were also supposed to remain forever faithful to their wives, even when they were dead[13].

On the other hand, the emperor, as well as being the supreme model of a society built on a matrimonial model – the *consortium* – needed to continue to be a man married to a living woman and not just a memory. So, if in many respects the relationship between Lothar and his father was marked by a definite continuity, on the other hand, with regard to the treatment of the queen, her visibility, and we might say the *privacy* of the couple, Lothar's age deviated from it completely. Of such a change of trajectory with respect to the recent past, in this very sphere, we can identify here some key moments.

[8] Agobardus, *Liber Apologeticus*, I, 2, p. 309.
[9] Booker, *By the Body Betrayed*.
[10] Polanichka, Cilley, *The very personal history*; Nelson, *Ninth-century knighthood*.
[11] Veronese, *Contextualizing marriage*.
[12] Lightman, Zeisel, *Univira*.
[13] Veronese, *Giona di Orléans*, LI.

Lothar was only married once, in a solemn public setting, that of the assembly of Thionville in 821, to Ermengard, the daughter of the *timidus* count Hugh of Tours. Thegan, in recalling the event, had emphasised her father's cowardice. He had such a reputation that even his retinue mocked him for «not even daring to leave his house!» («sic enim cecinerunt ei domestici sui, ut aliquando pedem foris sepe ponere ausus non fuisse»)[14]. However, having a *timidus* father does not seem to have been a drawback for Ermengard's reputation: if the lack of courage in challenging the uncertainties of open spaces was a negative aspect of the male gender, on the contrary, remaining locked inside one's home appeared to be a guarantee for the daughter of her sexual safety and invisibility. Lothar and Ermengard had numerous children, positively displaying the outward continuity and agreement in their relationship. From around 822 to 835, Lothar and Ermengard had at least six children in a seemingly regular rhythm. Until her death, thirty years after their marriage, no author, whether for or against Lothar, dared to question her loyalty to her husband or criticise her excessive exposure. It is only after 851, the year in which Ermengard died, that another woman emerges from Lothar's diplomas, the servant Doda[15], whom Lothar himself freed just one month after his wife's death, granting her ownership of the land previously worked by her father Ratbert[16]. The prestige of this woman at court is underlined by the role she assumed – a few years later – as the intercessor of a diploma of Lothar from 855 with regard to the *vassus* Ebroinus who, on this occasion, received tax land «in pago Hasbanio»[17]. In the diploma she is referred to as «dilectissima et familiarissima femina nostra», clearly indicating the special relationship that united her to Lothar despite her humble origins; the prestige that she managed to gain at court, even after Lothar's death, is testified by her inclusion among the Carolingian women in the list produced on the occasion of the meeting held at the abbey of Remiremont in 861[18].

Although many have thought that this relationship only started after Ermengard's death, it must be admitted that there is no proof of this. From this woman, Lothar had a son in 853, with the unfortunate name of Carloman[19]. The *Annales Bertiniani* pointed out the event with great precision, adding that, following the death of his wife, Lothar had had sexual relations with two *ancillae* and that, following the example of their father, his sons had also

[14] MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 28, p. 216; MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 55, p. 250. On this passage MacLean, *Palaces*; MacLean, *Frontiers and fortifications*, p. 154.
[15] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 113, p. 263 (851 IV 19, Aachen): «ancillam nostram nomine Dodanem».
[16] Ermengard died on 20 March 851; Lothar's diploma is dated 19 April of the same year.
[17] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 138, pp. 309-310 (855 VII 9, Kievermunt). The role of the intercessor to a diploma was well emphasised for the later period by Rosenwein, *Friends and Family*; Rosenwein, *The Family Politics*.
[18] *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, p. 93, f. 43r.
[19] See Stuart Airlie's remarks on the career possibilities of this Carolingian-named son: Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians*, pp. 156-157.

given themselves up to adulterous relations, alluding – with great probability – to the case of the divorce of Lothar II[20]. Even in this mention, the intention of which is clearly to emphasise Lothar's unseemly behaviour and the perverse example he had set for his sons, Ermengard's reputation remained unchanged: she herself still remained the most Christian queen («christianissima regina»)[21].

Lothar's marriage to Ermengard thus seems to suggest that Lothar and his wife took the *consortium* rules very seriously and that, from their point of view, contradicting or questioning them appeared to be a very risky operation. The public exposure of the couple was limited to a minimum and no author ever dared to discuss Ermengard's behaviour, let alone interpret it as a sign of dysfunction in the imperial family. As the numerous *carmina* dedicated by Sedulius Scotus to the queen make clear, she embodied the ideal canons of meekness, patience, beauty, but also nobility[22].

This did not mean, of course, that Ermengard was, as Bournazel believes, only a lonely embroiderer.

As Mayke de Jong observed, Ermengard had taken responsibility for some important personal initiatives. The *epithaphium Arsenii* tells us that it was Ermengard who, in 836, announced to all the monasteries of the empire the death of Wala, news that had reached her in advance from Corbie[23]. She asked for prayers for him, who had been her husband's most faithful supporter since his first stay in Italy in 822; a task, we can imagine, that stemmed directly from the will of Wala himself[24]. Even if, as de Jong again suggests, this information is probably a later addition to the text, it nevertheless testifies to a desire to present the queen in close connection with a broad monastic network that delineated a personal geographical sphere that transcended the space of the kingdom in Italy and her husband's residence.

Similarly, around 840, in any case after the death of Louis the Pious, Ermengard had written to an anonymous interlocutor[25] – perhaps Adalard the 'Seneschal', as Janet Nelson and Mayke de Jong have proposed[26] – asking him to stop acting like a demon. In fact, she accused him of having given rise to a series of lies that had created great discord among Louis's sons, had lumped

[20] On the divorce of Lothar II, see at least: Airlie, *Private Bodies*.
[21] MGH, AB, p. 43, *ad annum* 853: «Lotharius imperator, defuncta ante biennium Ermengarda christianissima regina, duas sibi ancillas villa regia copulavit; ex quarum altera Doda vocabulo filium generat, quem Carlomannum vocari iubet. Aliique filii eius similiter adulteriis inserviunt».
[22] Sedulii Scotti *Carmina*, *De Rectoribus Christianis*, n. I, VII, p. 157 (the queen); n. XX, *Idem ad Ermingardem imperatricem*, pp. 186-187; n. XXI, *Incipiunt versus ad Ermingardem imperatricem conscripti in serico pallio de virtutibus Petri apostoli*, pp. 187-188; n. XXIV, *Ad eandem imperatricem*, pp. 189-190, vv. 41-42: «Huic licet assimilis videatur Eydoxia rectrix, / non tamen aequalis, huic licet assimilis».
[23] de Jong, *Epitaph for an era*, p. 9 (on the change of style in the epitaph manuscript), pp. 146-147 (on the link between Ermengarda and Wala).
[24] Chastang, *Entre histoire et reconstruction des origines*, pp. 65-74.
[25] MGH, Epp. V, n. 27, pp. 343-345.
[26] Nelson, *Public histories*, pp. 222-224, 232-233; de Jong, *Epitaph for an era*, pp. 206-217.

him in with the *daemones* who «dissensione et perturbatione bonorum hominum gaudent et discordia delectantur». She had also reminded him of the great *familiaritas* that Ermengard had had towards him as long as he had behaved properly. In his letter of reply, the man denied all accusations, protested his innocence, begged her not to worry about the rumours that had reached her ears, finally reassuring her of his loyalty to her, today as yesterday. Although he had finally chosen Charles the Bald as his lord, his loyalty to Ermengard could not and would not be questioned[27]. This letter makes us well aware that, not only had Ermengard been able to cultivate and maintain contacts and loyalty independently from her husband, but that she had also been able to admonish her own faithful by using a language of power that was fully and consciously suited to calling a man who had preferred to take an opposing side back onto the straight and narrow. We might conclude then that not only was Ermengard able to communicate with an extended group and be its conduit, but her opinion was solicited, requested and desired.

I want to make one last point: Lothar had fought until his father's death in 840 for his status as *consors regni* to be recognised by his brothers. By this designation, Lothar meant the traditional, masculine sense of *consors*: he had been designated as successor to his father's throne and had thus become the spokesman for the late antique, institutional meaning of the term[28]. Once this had been achieved, however, he did not hesitate to adopt the feminine meaning of the same expression, i.e. the one that claimed that the title of *consors regni* belonged to the king's wife. He also did so with some speed since in 848 he was the first Carolingian emperor to mention his wife as *consors imperii* precisely because of the conjugal bond that united them. The diploma proclaimed that, adhering to the request of Ermengard «dilectissima et amatissima coniux nostra», since she was «iugali vinculo nobis sociata et consortii imperii nostri effecta», her wishes should be granted. As we all remember, the diploma concerned entrusting Ermengard and, later, her daughter Gisla, with the administration and control of the female monastery of San Salvatore in Brescia. In the diploma, Lothar then specified that any «contradicionem vel inquietudinem» had been in this way healed and that both of them (his wife and daughter) would administer San Salvatore «remota alicuius inquietudine vel contrarietate»[29]. A few days later, Lothar himself had exempted from army service and public functions twelve men chosen by Ermengard herself as well as two *cancellarii* from the monastery of San Salvatore in Alina, one of the dependencies of San Salvatore in Brescia run directly by the queen, so that they could quietly reside («quiete residere») and attend to the needs of the monastery itself[30]. In 851, following Ermengard's death, the role of *rectrix* of the Brescia monastery passed to her daughter Gisla, and on that occasion it

[27] de Jong, *Epitaph for an era*, p. 211; Pezé, *Compétition et fidelité*.
[28] As Delogu made clear years ago: Delogu, *Consors regni*.
[29] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 101, pp. 240-242 (848 III 16, Aachen).
[30] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 102, pp. 242-243 (848 III 20, Aachen).

was reaffirmed that the assets of the treasury, transmitted by San Salvatore, would be directly administered by her[31].

As for Ermengard's presence alongside her husband, either as an intercessor for third parties or as direct beneficiary of diplomas, it is quantitatively very limited and confined to Italy. She appears as her husband's direct interlocutor in the donation of the *curtis* of Limonta to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in January 835, as Hugh, Ermengard's young brother, who had just died, was buried in the monastery cemetery. The donation of Limonta was made for the redemption of both Lothar's and Hugh's soul[32]. A few months later – in May 835 – Ermengard's intervention, together with her husband, is recorded in a later diploma, which increases and specifies the servile labour force employed by the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in the same *curtis* of Limonta[33]. In 837 the abbess Amalberga approached both spouses for confirmation of the possessions and servants of the monastery of San Salvatore in Brescia[34]. It seems then that, at least at this stage, Ermengard's role was to ground the memory of her own family group of origin in northern Italy[35].

There are, however, clues through which it can be assumed that Ermengard's role in guiding her husband's decisions was more significant than it appears at first sight: between 837 and 838 Agnellus of Ravenna recounts having travelled to Pavia together with Archbishop George of Ravenna who, through rich gifts to the emperor, had earned the privilege of baptizing Lothar's daughter, Rotruda. On this occasion, Agnellus complained about the expenses that the Church of Ravenna had had to bear for the gifts that the archbishop had offered to the child, moreover through purchasing them from the imperial *palatium*. Agnellus himself had dressed the little girl: «et manibus meis vestivi et calciamenta in pedibus decoravi auro et iacinto ornata»[36]. In this context, in which Archbishop George systematically appears as the transgressor of the baptismal ritual[37], Agnellus recalled with minute precision the motionless figure of a glittering Ermengard, who followed by a crowd of handmaids, wore a splendid robe «aureo circumdata limbo, conligata crines vittis, iachintinis gemmis, prosobsi velata, facies stillata sarduisque, smaragdis, auro»[38]. This motionless and luminous image emphasised – with the public appearance of the queen – her central role in her daughter's christening ceremony. George's financial commitment to dress Rotruda was then

[31] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 115, pp. 265-266 (851 IX 8, Gondreville).
[32] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 23, pp. 93-95 (835 I 24, Pavia).
[33] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 27, pp. 101-102 (835 V 8, Pavia).
[34] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 35, pp. 112-115 (837 XII 15, Marengo).
[35] Veronese, *Un franco (anzi due) in Brianza*.
[36] Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, 171, p. 351.
[37] George robs the wealth of the church in Ravenna to make splendid gifts for the emperor; he buys jewellery and christening robes from the palace for an exorbitant sum; finally, he secretly gets drunk before mass.
[38] Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, 171, p. 351. On the relations between the Church of Ravenna at the time of Lothar, see Schoolman, *Representations of Lothar I*, pp. 118-120.

meant to make her as resplendent as her mother, demonstrating her imperial rank. It should be noted, however, that even in this passage in which Agnellus harshly criticises George, the description of Ermengard is, by contrast, devoid of any polemical significance: on this occasion, too, Ermengard is depicted in her official appearance almost as a statue of female kingship, entirely legitimate and unassailable[39].

With the death of Louis the Pious and her assumption of the imperial title in 840, Ermengard's role as *augusta* was also emphasised and, by virtue of this, her actions – although always presented as deriving from marital assent and concord – became somewhat more intense. Between 848 and 849, Ermengard became – as mentioned – *rectrix* of the Italian monastery of San Salvatore in Brescia and then, in the following year, the promoter of the Alsatian monastery of Ernstein, which she founded on the lands of the royal treasury that had been assigned *nomine dotis* by Lothar himself, so that the nuns would pray for her and her husband, but also for all the faithful of the kingdom[40]. It must be reiterated, as Simon MacLean has noted years ago, that the geographical location of the dowry lands and the foundation of the monastery of Ernstein contributed to strengthening the patrimonial presence in the area of Ermengard's original family group[41], inaugurating a new perception of the queen's monastery as a place that was intended to reinforce and reaffirm the relevance of the empress's family of origin. If one looks at the chronology of the foundation of these new monasteries by the queen, one can see how this new trend was first inaugurated by the wife of Bernard of Italy, Cunegonda, in 835 and then taken up by Ermengard in 850. The experience in Italy had also been a source of inspiration for this development.

A similar type of protection of the interests and prerogatives of the empress through the monastic route was implemented by her own daughters: their taking vows in a place of crucial interest for her own political support is attested by the vehemence with which Ermengard intervened in defence of the monastic property of Avenay, where her daughter Bertha was abbess, the subject of open conflict with Hincmar of Rheims, in 847. Although not attested by first-hand sources, the epistolary exchange between the empress and Hincmar, narrated by Flodoard of Rheims in the 10th century, testifies to Ermengard's initiative in protecting the properties and the monastery, through her direct interference and responsibility in confronting a powerful rival[42].

Deprived of the sexual complications of Judith, but also of the celebratory *ex post facto* exaltation that had been directed at Hildegard, Charlemagne's

[39] The jewellery of the queen and empress follows a pattern of legitimate ostentation that has its own late antique tradition linking it to the ritual of marriage. Although with different accents, Ermengard's public appearance can be linked to that described by Cassiodorus for the wedding of Matasuintha, Theoderic's niece, to Vitiges in 537, where the bride appears decorated and covered with pearls, emeralds, rubies and sapphires: Cristini, *Matasuintha*, p. 247.
[40] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 106, pp. 251-253 (849 IX 6, Remiremont).
[41] MacLean, *Queenship, nunneries*, pp. 15-18.
[42] *Ibidem*, pp. 18-20.

wife, from the moment immediately following her death,[43] Ermengard then appears to have been an important factor in stabilising the position and acceptance of Lothar not only in Italy and later in Aachen, but in a wider area. This is demonstrated by a significant act: when, in 841, Hrabanus Maurus gave her the same biblical exegesis that he had given to the Empress Judith in 830 on the figures of Esther and Judith[44], it became clear that the time was ripe for reconciliation and that the imperial couple had been fully incorporated into the wider imperial sphere. In the epitaph in verse composed for Ermengard's death in 851, Hrabanus himself recalled her noble origins and her works of charity towards the poor: these were the very characteristics that had earned her the gift of a group of relics of saints from Rome, sent to her by Pope Leo IV[45], which Ermengard had placed in her monastery in Ernstein. On that occasion Hrabanus emphasised that the prayers addressed to the Roman saints were specifically dedicated to requesting *veniam delicti*, i.e. the forgiveness of evil deeds committed[46]. Her relationship with the relics and the pope also emphasised the mediating and pacifying role the empress had played during her lifetime.

At this important moment of clarification and discussion of the role, models and wider political significance of Carolingian queenship, Ermengard seems to have played a very important stabilising role. The unanimous consensus towards her seems to derive from the gradual augmentation of specific actions and visibility that, in the long run, characterised the queen's model: the foundation of her own monastery, the control of her own unmarried daughters, the ability to bring out the weight of her family of origin, protecting its prestige and relevance through a series of patrimonial actions aimed at reinforcing its power both in areas of ancient possession – as in the case of Ernstein – and in areas of new acquisitions – as in the case of Milan and Limonta. In spite of the discrediting of Hugh – Ermengard's father – following the drastic disqualification measures taken by Louis the Pious in 828, the couple of Ermengard's parents, Hugh and Ava, and their descendants, were supported by Lothar and Ermengard steadfastly and with firmness[47].

Similarly, the memory of the imperial couple and their parents was jointly evoked in the numerous diplomas issued by Lothar II immediately following his father's death. In 858, Lothar II donated the monastery of Berg to the Church of Utrecht «ob ebolumentum etiam ac remedium anime avi nos-

[43] Pauli et Petri *diaconorum carmina*, n. XX, *Epitaphium Hildegardis reginae*, pp. 58-59; on Hildegard's epitaph see Demarchi, *Paolo Diacono e il dolore*.
[44] Hrabani Mauri *Carmina*, n. VI, I, pp. 165-167 (to Judith); Hrabani Mauri *Carmina*, n. VI, II-V, pp. 167-169 (to Ermengard).
[45] On the relations between Leo IV and Lothar I, see Herbers, *Papst Leo IV.*, pp. 18-48; Betti, *The two versions of the life of Pope Sergius II*, pp. 190-196.
[46] Hrabani Mauri *Carmina*, n. LXXXIV, pp. 239-240 (a. 851).
[47] The period between 830 and 860 was in fact characterised by an intense series of discussions on the power of the Carolingian queen, centred on her ability – as a woman – to scandalise politics. On all this, MacLean, *Queenship, nunneries*; Innes, *Queenship in dispute*.

tri Hludovici et pie memoriae genitoris nostris Lotharii quondam augustorum necnon et genetricis nostrae Hermengardae»[48]; in the same year, a few months later, Lothar II, declaring himself aware of the «periculum animae inclyti genitoris nostri» returned to the Church of Toul the properties that had been taken away from it and proclaimed that he was acting «ob emolumentum animae serenissimi genitoris nostris ac genitricis»[49]; memorial expressions of the imperial couple are used in later diplomas for the years 859-866. The salvation of the souls of his parents was evidently a greater concern of Lothar II[50] since remembering with prayers the otherworldly destiny of both of them strengthened their memory as a couple even in the afterlife. Insisting on the parental couple perhaps also served to reaffirm Lothar II's competence with regard to the marriage rules of the *consortium regni* during the complex negotiations of his divorce from Teutberga. At the same time, I find it interesting to emphasise, in this context, the entirely different attitude adopted in Italy by Lothar II's brother, the Emperor Louis II who, on the other hand, never mentioned his own mother in his diplomas and, more generally, did not offer *pro anima* gifts for his parents. Such divergence might allow one to suppose that, in Italy, the lack of a lasting memory of Ermengard and the more stable institutional position of Louis II compared to that of his brother had made the list of his institutional predecessors and of their diplomas a preferred option to the private relationship with his own parents. On the other hand, such an absence reaffirms the intrinsic connection between the memory of the individual evoked and the concrete area of his patrimonial interference.

3. *Fragile women*

I now come to the second point of my text, which concerns a specific context and a gesture of Lothar's that I consider extremely significant: I will use it both to highlight the way in which this gesture was considered, even in the Carolingian era, as an example of his brutality and ruthlessness, and also to show the complex interweaving of the need to punish, the ideal stratification of norms and behaviour, and, finally, of ideas about the female body and the challenges it presented[51].

[48] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 7, p. 393 (858 I 2, Prüm).
[49] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 9, p. 397 (858 VIII 6, Metz).
[50] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 12, p. 401 (859 VI 17, Gondreville); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 17, p. 412 (862 IV 13, Neufchâteau-sur-Amblève); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 18, p. 413 (863 IV 30, Mantaille); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 19, p. 415 (863 May 18, Lyon) (for the salvation of the souls not only of both parents, but also of the brothers Louis II and Charles, Waldrada and their son Hugh); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 20, p. 417 (863); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 36, p. 445 (863-869); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 23, p. 421 (865 III 7, Aachen); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 25, p. 426 (866 I 15, Aachen); MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 28, p. 431 (866 III 19, Marlenheim).
[51] MacLean, *Queenship, nunneries*; on Hugh's career, de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 38-47; on the estates assigned to Hugh and Ava in Locate near Monza: Veronese, *Un franco (anzi, due) in Brianza*.

In the 830s, just as demons had inhabited the imperial palace, they seemed to haunt the general political landscape within which the aristocracy, in its various components, felt challenged: at such a juncture, everyone felt the precariousness of their position and, therefore, reacted by accusing their antagonists at the time of having evil intentions and of using demonic means to alter the *status quo*. In this climate of great tension, accusations of committing evil deeds were scattered around.

One event in particular acted as a catalyst to pinpoint Lothar as the protagonist of a murderous act. In an almost polyphonic manner, four sources tell us that in 834, following the assault on the city of Chalon-sur-Saône, Lothar had a woman named Gerberga[52] thrown into the river Saône. The accounts of the four sources are apparently the same, although they differ in some details. Whereas Thegan and the *Annales Bertiniani* specified that she was the sister of Bernard of Septimania, the Astronomer preferred to emphasise the name of her father, the late duke William of Aquitaine; Nithard does not mention this relationship. As for her professional identity, she is referred to as *sanctimonialis femina* by Thegan and the *Annales Bertiniani*; no mention is made of this detail by the Astronomer and Nithard. Thegan and the *Annales Bertiniani* also specify that the woman was locked in a barrel and thrown into the river Saône; Thegan alone specifies that it was the wives of Lothar's impious advisors who spread slander about the woman and drove him to this extreme act. Furthermore, Nithard and the Astronomer added that Gerberga's final punishment had been that of *maleficorum* and *veneficae* (Tab. 1).

	Name: Gerberga, Gerbrich	Family origins	Title	Death of Gerberga	Type of punishment	more
Astronomus	YES	*Filia quondam Wilhelmi comitis*	NO	*Aquis praefocata est*	*Tamquam venefica*	*Gozelo and Senila counts, and Madelelmus royal vassal are executed*
Nithard	YES	NO	NO	*In Ararim mergi praecepit*	*More maleficorum*	*Gozelo and Senila are beheaded; Warino is spared but is obliged to give allegiance to Lothar*

[52] MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 52, p. 244: «sanctimonialis femina, quae erat soror duci Bernhardi nomine Gerbirch, iussit in vase vinatico claudere et proicere in flumen Ararim, de quo poeta canit: 'Aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tygrim'. Ibi eam diu affligens, quousque extinctit eam, iudicio coniugum impiorum consiliariorum eius, implens psalmodicam prophethiam: 'Cum sancto sanctus eris et cum perversos perversus'»; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 52, p. 496: «Gerberga filia quondam Willelmi comitis tamquam venefica aquis praefocata est»; MGH, AB, p. 9, *ad annum* 834: «sororem Bernardi sanctimonialem in cupa positam in Ararim fluvium demergi fecit»; Nithardi *Historiarum libri IIII*, I, 5, pp. 7-8: «Gerbergam more maleficorum in Ararim mergi praecepit, Gozhelmum et Senilam capite punivit, Warino autem vitam donavit et, ut se deinceps pro viribus iuvaret, iureiurando constrinxit».

Annales Bertiniani, 834	NO	*Soror Bernardi*	*sanctimonialis*	*In cupa positam in Ararim fluvium demergi fecit*		
Thegan	YES	*Soror duci Bernhardi*	*Sanctimonialis femina*	*iussit in vase vinatico claudere et proicere in flumen Ararim*	*Ibi eam diu affligens quousque extinctit eam*	*iudicio coniugum impiorum consiliariorum eius*

In spite of these differences, the narrative pattern of the sources is similar: it is a crescendo series of violent actions carried out by Lothar upon learning that his father Louis had been reinstated on the throne. He attacked Chalon-sur-Saône, entered the town, burnt its buildings and churches; he had also had three counts and a vassal of the king executed, who had betrayed him in favour of his father[53]. It is a crescendo of violence that ends with Gerberga being thrown into the river, which leads one to consider it as a totally insane and senseless act, carried out on the spur of a moment of wrath. This is certainly what the four texts intended to achieve. Some scholars have, however, reflected on this at first sight inexplicable punishment: Régine Le Jan, first of all, has assumed that it was a deliberate attempt by Lothar to eliminate all living relatives of Bernard of Septimania, i.e. the members of the only family group descended from Charles Martel that could truly challenge Carolingian legitimacy. Régine Le Jan has indeed pointed out that, in addition to Gerberga, in Chalon-sur-Saône on the same occasion her brother Gozelo[54] was also executed; while a second brother of Bernard, Heribert, had been blinded by order of Lothar in 830[55]. Bernard's wife Dhuoda herself had been threatened in Uzés and was only saved by the support Bernard had provided her. In 844, Charles the Bald then had Bernard killed because, according to the *Annales Bertiniani*, «he had been plotting great plans for some time and had reached the height of power»; five years later, William, the son of Bernard and

[53] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 52, pp. 494-496, *ad annum* 834: «Qua tempestate Verinus comes cum plurimis sotiis castrum Cauillonum utcumque communivit (...). Quod cum compertum Hlothario foret, inprovisus illuc advenire disposuit, quod tamen facere nequivit. Advenit tamen et oppidum circumdedit; que in circuitu civitatis erant, incendio conflagrata sunt. Pugnatum est acriter diebus quinque, et tandem ad deditionem primum urbs recepta est; post autem versa vice crudelium more victorum primo quidem direptionibus ecclesię vastate, thesauri depredati vel communes sunt direptae copię, ad ultimum vero civitas voraci depasta est incendio (...). Nec tamen Hlotarii voluntas fuit, ut civitas succenderetur. Adclamatione porro militari post captam urbem Gotselmus comes itemque Sanila comes necnon et Madalelmus vassallus dominicus capite plexi sunt»; MGH, AB, p. 9, *ad annum* 834: «Hlotarius vero cum sui Cavellonem veniens, eam expugnavit ignique succendit et comites qui ibi aderant comprehendit; ex quibus tres interfecit, alios autem secum inde sub custodia duxit».

[54] Nithardi *Historiarum libri IIII*, I, 5, pp. 7-8 (see note 52).

[55] MGH, AB, p. 2, *ad annum* 830: «Post octavas autem paschae Hlotarius de Italia perveniens, placitum illic (sc. Ad Compendium) habuit et Herebertum, fratrem Bernardi, excaecari iussit aliquosque fideles domni imperatoris in custodiam misit».

Dhuoda, was also put to death in Barcelona[56]. Summarising these data on the violent end of William of Aquitaine's family group, Le Jan finally concludes «Les femmes de l'élite relevaient ainsi de la même sphère de pouvoir que les hommes et à ce titre, elles subissaient les haines, tout comme elles étaient aussi sujettes à la haine»[57].

On another hand, without connecting these inherent aspects to a systematic policy of progressive elimination of Charles Martel's descendants in Aquitaine, Courtney Booker has highlighted the rituality of Gerberga's death and the fact that, linked as she was to Bernard of Septimania, she too – like her brother – had been accused of having operated *incantationes*. Perhaps, says Booker, Lothar and his people really believed that Gerberga should be eliminated, surrounded as she was by suspicion, first of all by women[58]. I believe Booker is right in emphasising the ritual nature of this execution, just as Le Jan rightly points out the obstinacy with which the Carolingians attempted to eliminate all those connected with Bernard. However, I would like to add a few considerations on the vocabulary used and the context in which the punishment itself took place, in order better to understand its internal logic which, in my opinion, was not the result of blind irrationality, but of a ramified project that found a very effective and exemplary representation in Chalon.

In order to do this, it is necessary to clarify the three terms that define Gerberga: the fact that she was a *sanctimonialis femina*, a nun; the fact that she was killed as was customary with *veneficae*; and finally, the meaning of the town of Chalon-sur-Saône and its river themselves.

Let us begin with Gerberga's status, that of *sanctimonialis*. One needs to keep in mind the premise that Lothar seems to have been very committed to the ritual sphere of marriage, to make it conform to what the councils convened by his ancestors had theorised over time: stable, possibly perpetual unions. It is no coincidence, it seems to me, that Lothar's capitularies insisted constantly on aspects relating to the control of the social order: as far as matrimonial unions were concerned, they should have conformed, in spirit and in fact, to his own. There were a few but clear anchoring points: control of asymmetrical unions (first and foremost between a free woman and a servant), of the cohabitation of priests with women and, finally, control of the chastity of both veiled widows and nuns[59].

In Italy, from the age of Arechi, regulatory sources insist on this last theme, emphasising the discrepancy between the possibility for a widow to

[56] MGH, AB, p. 30, *ad annum* 844: «Bernhardus comes marcae Hispanicae, iam dudum grandia moliens summisque inhians, maiestatis reus Francorum iudicio, iussu Karoli in Aquitania capitalem sententiam subiit»; *ibidem*, p. 38, *ad annum* 850: «Guilhelmus, Bernardi filius, in marca Hispanica Aledramnum et Isembardum comites dolo capit; sed ipse dolosius captus et aput Barcinonem interfectus est».

[57] Le Jan, *Amis ou ennemis?*, pp. 120-121 (with sources cited there).

[58] Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 152-153 and p. 346.

[59] MGH, Capit. II, 13, 14 (union of free women with servants), 15 (union of a servant with a free woman), pp. 62-63 (a. 832).

veil herself privately in her own home, to maintain a status of chastity, not to enter a monastery and, above all, to form small groups of *mulierculae* with women of her own status, who wander about the city with powdered hands and made-up eyes, attracting the male gaze. These women could be suspected of having illicit relations with other men, but could not be accused of adultery unless they became pregnant[60]. Veiled women constituted a challenge to both the Carolingian order and the assumption that they seemed to act without any of their relatives being able (apparently) to control or punish them. Lothar's capitularies on the subject of the body integrity of veiled women and even nuns are repetitive and pressing. From the very first capitulary issued in Italy in 822, the focus is on adultery, an expression that is also extended to relations with men by nuns[61].

It was precisely Chalon-sur-Saône which, in 813 that had been the venue of the council convened by Charlemagne where, for the first time, the subject of the purity of women's monasteries, the special surveillance to which they had to be subjected, and the need for their interaction with the outside world to be reduced to a minimum[62] was discussed. In Aachen in 816, the *Institutio Sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis* had developed the themes discussed in Chalon-sur-Saône and had preceded the conciliar acts with a series of ancient reference texts aimed at substantiating the episcopal decisions on the subject of the chastity of nuns and veiled women. Among them was the famous letter of Jerome to Eustochius, in which the danger of veiled nuns was emphasised: in the shelter of their black robes, they lived a life unaware of the dangers they faced; if they became pregnant, they did not hesitate to kill their infants; others aborted with potions (*venena*). They were therefore guilty of three crimes: they killed themselves; they were adulteresses because they betrayed Christ, their heavenly bridegroom; and they were killers of their children[63]. The punishments for those guilty of this criminal sin were to be determined by the

[60] *Leges Langobardorum*, Arechis, 12, p. 209 (a. 758-787). On the passage, see La Rocca, *Pouvoirs des femmes*, pp. 37-40.

[61] MGH, Capit. I, 5, p. 317 (a. 822-823): «Statuimus ut si femina habens vestem mutatam moecha deprehensa fuerit non tradatur genitio sicut usque modo, ne forte quae prius cum uno, postmodum cum pluribus locum habeat moechandi; sed eius possessio fisco redigatur et ipsa episcopali subiaceat iudicio»; MGH, Capit. I, p. 318: «De sanctimoniales feminas statuimus ut, si adulterium fecerint et inventum fuerit, res quas habet fisco sociatur, persona vero eius sit in potestate episcopi in cuius parochia est, ut in monasterio intromittantur».

[62] MGH, Conc. II, 52-67, pp. 284-285. In particular chapters LV and LVI establish that neither the abbess nor the *sanctimoniales* may speak with men at night, but only during the day and *coram testibus*. Chapter LVII instead establishes the public visibility of the abbess and the *sanctimoniales*: «Abatissa nequaquam de monasterio egrediatur nisi per licentiam episcopi sui (...). Et si quando foras pergit, de sanctimonialibus quam secum ducit, curam et vigilantiam habeat, ut nulla eis detur peccandi licentia sive occasio». The monastery porter, i.e. the one who was most exposed to external contact, was to be chosen from among those of *aetate matura*.

[63] MGH, Conc. II, p. 426 (a. 816): «Videas plerasque viduas antequam nuptas infelicem conscientiam mentita tantum veste protegere; quas nisi tumor uteri et infantum prodiderit vagitus, erecta cervice et ludentibus pedibus incedunt. Aliae vero sterilitatem praebent et necdum nati hominis homicidium faciunt. Nonnullae, cum se senserint concoepisse de scelere, abortii venena meditantur et frequenter etiam ipsae conmortuae trium criminum reae ad inferos perducun-

bishop, who was charged with finding the appropriate penance[64]. The diligence in ensuring punishment was considered indispensable since «Quanto enim idem sexus fragilior esse dinoscitur, tanto necesse est maiorem erga eum custodiam adhiberi»[65]. The punishments envisaged are composed of an escalation of successive deprivations (diet of bread and water, segregation in a separate part of the monastery, finally even corporal punishment, although the latter is not deemed suitable for older women and those of high social status)[66]. Although chapter XVIII is one of the most detailed and exhaustive within the conciliar acts, it must be admitted that the subject matter mainly concerns the behaviour that *sanctimoniales* must observe within the monastic area, in their relations with each other. In fact, verbal actions that cause discord and disorder are mentioned as offences to be punished, while relations with men and in particular are really considered as unthinkable occurrences and are adumbrated in rather general statements[67].

tur, homicidae sui, Christi adulterae, necdum nati filii parricidae». Jerome's letter to Eustochius is the first to be cited in the acts of the council (*ibidem*, pp. 421-428).

[64] See in particular MGH, Conc. II, 18, *Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis*, pp. 450-451: «Quae autem criminale peccatum commiserit, huic nullatenus differenda est correptionis utilitas, quin aut sponte peccati sui facinus paenitendo abluat aut, si id agere rennuerit, ab episcopo, ut praemissum est, iuxta modum taxatum sententiam excommunicationis et modum penitentiae excipiat».

[65] MGH, Conc. II, 18, p. 449.

[66] Regarding punishments: MGH, Conc. II, 18, *Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis*, p. 450: «primo secundum Domini praeceptum non solum semel et secundo ac tertio, quin etiam crebrius admoneatur et, si his admonitionibus non paruerit, publica obiurgatione corripiatur». The following stages follow, in the case of non-repentance. Phase 1: the only food allowed is bread and water («Quodsi et huic renisa fuerit, ceteris alimentis sibi interdictis pane tantum usque ad dignam penitentiae satisfactionem utatur et aqua»); phase 2: segregation from other nuns («Si vero nec sic se correxerit, separetur a mensa et a ceterarum sanctimonialium in choro psallentium societate et seorsum in loco huiuscemodi neglegentibus ab abbatissis stare cogatur constituto, ut saltim rubore sequestrationis emendetur»); phase 3: corporal punishment («Si autem his modis admonita atque castigata incorrigibilis adhuc exstiterit, congrua ei, si tamen aetas permiserit, verberum adhibeatur castigatio. Verum si talis fuerit, quam aut aetas aut qualitas personae verberari non siverit, haec et publica obiurgatione et ieiuniorum continuatione et sequestrationis rubore tamdiu corripiatur, donec digna penitentiae satisfactione veniam consequi posse videatur»), which can be replaced by an actual segregation («Si igitur ea, quae flagellatur, et ea, quam flagellari aut aetas aut qualitas personae prohibet, incorrigibiles apparuerint, sit locus intra claustra, quo ad tempus retrudantur et secundum modum culpae castigentur»); phase 4: expulsion («Quodsi etiam aliqua in tantam insaniam devenerit, quae post tot saluberrimas admonitiones et castigationes necdum se correxerit, deprecetur pro ea communi voto ab omni congregatione, ut ab illo, cui nihil est inpossibile, sanetur»); phase 5: episcopal sentence («Postremo, si his omnibus exhibitis prorsus inemendabilis atque incorrigibilis apparuerit, quia nullatenus huic saeculum repetere fas est, advocetur necesse est episcopus et illius sapientissimo ac discretissimo iudicio ita eiusdem vita, quae se tot vitiis foedando et in pertinatia permanendo a collegio sanctimonialium quodammodo secrevit, intra septa monasterii moderetur, quatenus et paenitentiam sibi ab eo iniunctam salubriter gerat et ceteris nullius contagionis morbum inferre valeat»).

[67] MGH, Conc. II, cap. 18, *Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis*, p. 450: «Si aliqua in congregatione sanctimonialium horas canonicas frequentare neglexerit et opus Dei neglegenter exsecuta fuerit, ad conlationem venire distulerit, oboedientiam sibi iniunctam agere recusaverit, in descendis bonorum operum instrumentis iuxta vires operam non dederit, in dormitorio aliquid indecens aut inhonestum verbis aut actibus perpetraverit, alibi quam in dormitorio

But Chalon-sur-Saône was also the place where, according to the *Liber in gloria martyrum* written by Gregory of Tours, a spectacular miracle of Saint Genesius had taken place: a woman, falsely accused by her husband of being an adulteress, had been thrown by the judge into the Saône river with a stone hanging from her neck. But Genesius had saved her because she was innocent, and she was found alive the next day on the riverbed, proving her innocence to the crowd that had flocked to witness her execution[68]. By throwing Gerberga, a *sanctimonialis femina*, into the Saône, evidently suspected of having had an abortion to conceal her adultery with a man – as the names directed at her of *venefica* and *malefica* would seem to indicate –, Lothar had demonstrated to all the inhabitants of Chalon that this time Genesius had not intervened and that the exemplary punishment he had inflicted on Gerberga was just.

In this way, the woman unjustly accused of adultery, the subject of Genesius' miracle narration, was contrasted with Gerberga, who as an adulteress had been justly punished and had died. The ritual of drowning that had been

absque causa inevitabili dormire praesumpserit, sororibus caritatis officio servire neglexerit, irae, detractioni, susurrationi, scurilitati, bilinguitati, verbositati, dissensioni, simulationi, curiositati vanisque verborum confabulationibus inservierit, discordiam inter sorores seminaverit, huic institutioni contumax aut superba aut murmurans seu in aliquo contraria extiterit et cetera huiusmodi agere temptaverit».

[68] Gregorii Turonensis *Liber in gloria martyrum*, cap. 69, pp. 84-85: «Nam simili sortae alia mulier a viro suo adulterii crimen accepit. Quod coram iudice diutissime denegans, cum propria confessione superari non possit, diiudicatur inmergi. Dehinc, currente ad spectaculum populo, ad pontem ducitur amnis Ararici, connexumque cum fune lapidem molarem collo eius, praecipitaverunt eam in flumine, increpante desuper viro atque dicente: 'Ablue nunc aquis abundantibus fornicationes inmunditiasque tuas, quibus saepe maculasti stratum meum'. Sed Domini pietas, quae insontes perire non patitur, providit stilum sub aquis, quem videre homo non poterat; qui suscipiens funem, sustenuit mulierem, ne ad fundum fluminis perveniret. Et erant utraque sub aquis, mulier scilicet et petra stili illius lance librata. Cumque iam sol occubitum peteret, propinqui feminae illius deposcunt a iudice, ut liceret per alveum torrentis cadaver parentis inquirere. Accepta itaque indulgentia, discenderunt ad locum, in quo praecipitata fuerat mulier. Videruntque eam pendere cum lapide, missoque unco, abstraxerunt illam; intellegentesque esse vivam, velociter ad basilicam, quae erat fluminis proxima, transtulerunt; timebant enim, ne iterum mergi iuberetur a iudice. Interrogabant autem mulieri, qualiter sub pelago vivere potuisset. Respondit: 'Non mihi aliter, quam somnium visum est, nec amplius aquas sensi, nisi cum in his proiecta discendi aut ab his iterum sum resumpta, surrexi'. Et mirabantur omnes, non potuisse eam mori in tali discrimine; salvavit enim illam purae conscientiae fides et Dominus, quem iugiter inprecata est. Deinde parentibus indulta, nec a iudice nec a viro est amplius inquisita; sed ad virtutes martyrum redeamus». Gregory also recounts another similar miracle by Genesius, referring to the escape from drowning of another woman unjustly accused in the Rhône; see *Gregorii Turonensis Liber in gloria martyrum*, cap. 68, p. 84: «Ferunt etiam in hac urbe fuisse mulierem, cui a viro crimen inpactum nec omnino probatum, a iudice, ut aquis inmergeretur, diiudicata est. Cui cum ad collum lapis inmensus funibus colligatus fuisset, in Rhodanum de navi praecipitata est. Illa vero beati martyris auxilium precabatur, et nomen eius invocans, aiebat: 'Sancte Genesi, gloriosae martyr, qui has aquas natandi pulsu sanctificasti, erue me iuxta innocentiam meam!' Et statim super aquas ferri coepit. Quod videntes populi, susceperunt eam in navi et ad basilicam sancti deduxerunt incolomem; nec ulterius a viro vel a iudice est quaesita». Both episodes are commented on and contextualised by Mistry, *Abortion*, pp. 89-90, who emphasises that Gregory's text was to be read and commented on locally during church services: the inhabitants of the city must therefore have been well aware of the value and significance of the saint's failure to intervene on Gerberga's behalf.

performed at Chalon-sur-Saône in fact recalled the rituals of capital punishment used for adultery that had been assimilated to parricide in the Theodosian code (XI.36.4[69]), later taken up by the barbarian laws more closely related to late antique legislation[70]: they have drowning as a constant element and are progressively characterised as a form of female torture. If, as attested with antiquarian erudition by the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, in ancient times the *culleus* was a sack inside which the person guilty of parricide was locked up together with an animal (a monkey, a snake or a rooster) and then thrown into the sea or a body of water, thus depriving him of burial[71], later it is the punishment of drowning that tends to prevail, with the progressive loss of the importance of the container and the animals it contains. In the *leges Burgundionum*, drowning is specifically mentioned for married women who intend to separate from their husbands[72].

Thus, through the exercise of the rules that had been devised to punish adulterous women in an exemplary manner (with all the extensions of the various faults progressively included), Lothar's ability to be a king in his own right was shown, highlighting his capability to instil terror and to punish according to justice[73].

In Italy such a power of correction manifested itself precisely in the capital of the kingdom, Pavia. Indeed, between 833 and 839, Lothar himself took a peculiar and unprecedented interest in the women's monastery of Santa Maria Theodota: a monastery about whose origins and occurrences there were certainly some unhappy rumours. As Paul the Deacon recounts, the monastery is said to have been founded at the time of King Cunipert, at the end of

[69] *Codex Theodosianus*, XI.36.4 (339 VIII 29): «Impp. Constantius et Constans aa. ad Catullinum. Oportuerat te publici instituti respectu confessione detectos legum severitate punire nec frustra vitam differentum moratorias provocationes admittere, sed delatum adulterii crimen et quaestionibus athibitis adprobatum pari sceleri immanitate damnare. Quod deinceps in huiusmodi criminibus convenit observari, ut manifestis probationibus adultery probato frustratoria provocatio minime admittatur, cum pari similique ratione sacrilegos nuptiarum tamquam manifestos parricidas insuere culleo vivos vel exurere iudicantem oporteat. Dat. IIII kal. sept. Constantio a. II et Constante caes. conss.». On such an assimilation, see Biavaschi, *L'ambiguo destino della* poena cullei.

[70] On the broad definition of parricide, which covers not only the father but also relatives and allies, Thomas, *Parricidium*, pp. 643-715.

[71] Isidore of Seville's evocation of the *culleus*, with monkey, cock and snake, is probably to be attributed to antiquarian erudition: Isidori Hispalensis episcopi *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, V, XXVII, 36-38: «Culleum est parricidale vasculum ab occulendo, id est claudendo dictum. Est autem uter ex corio factus, in quo parricidae cum simio et gallo et serpente inclusi in mare praecipitantur. Omnium autem istarum mortium genus animadversio nominatur. Animadversio enim est, quando iudex reum punit; et dicitur animadvertere, id est animum illuc advertere, intendere utique ad puniendum reum, quia iudex est. Ideo autem Romani aquam et ignem interdicebant quibusdam damnatis, quia aer et aqua cunctis patent et omnibus data sunt; ut illi non fruerentur quod omnibus per naturam concessum est». On parricide as a capital crime against public institutions, see Thomas, *Parricidium*.

[72] *Leges Burgundionum*, n. 34, 1, p. 68: «Si qua mulier maritum suum, cui legitime est iuncta, dimiserit, necetur in luto». On all this see Bougard's timely analysis: Bougard, *Culpabilis iudicetur*, pp. 26-37.

[73] Nelson, *Kings with Justice*.

the 7th century, and in it Theodota, a young girl with long hair, who had been violated by the king himself, was said to have been a nun[74]. The monastery, within which the abbesses were buried, also preserved the funerary inscription of a Theodota, possibly written and composed by one of her disciples of the same name. The inscription, unfortunately mutilated, describes Theodota as a woman who was very busy decorating the monastery, so resplendent – the inscription tells us – that it rivalled the royal palaces[75]. It is interesting to observe that in the most difficult years of the empire's family crisis, when Louis the Pious had been forced into public penance in the church of Saint Medard in Soissons, Lothar in his stay in Pavia had undertaken to concentrate royal resources precisely on the monastery of Theodota, largely ignored up to that point by his predecessors. To the monastery of Santa Maria Theodota Lothar granted no less than four diplomas and it should be noted that it was the only monastic institution in Pavia to be enriched by him, becoming Lothar's point of reference in the capital of the kingdom. In 833, Lothar adhered to the request of the abbess Asia to grant the monastery imperial protection including immunity, with a clause protecting it from comital intervention, and placing it under the formal custody of the abbot Gisleramnus, who acted as guarantor of the correct application of the Benedictine rule[76]. In addition, the abbess and the nuns were included, in this act, within the memorial circuit of the royal couple and their children. In the following years, Lothar continued to be a benefactor of the monastery of Santa Maria Theodota, at the same time surrounding the building with renewed protection, and extending its perimeter to the city walls[77]. In taking care of this very monastery – whether through the institutional control of the abbot Gisleramnus, of the counts who were to conduct the *inquisitio* on the stolen properties and servants, and ultimately by the extension of the monastic perimeter towards the walls – in this way, Lothar positioned himself as the emperor who, through the tools guaranteeing the Carolingian order, allowed the monastery itself to redeem its shameful past, connected to the Theodota violated by King Cunipert[78], by transforming it into a perfect female monastery because it was protected by the king

[74] Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, V, 37, p. 157.
[75] Consolino, *La poesia epigrafica*, pp. 166-167; De Rubeis, *Epigrafia femminile*, pp. 68-69.
[76] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 12, pp. 76-78 (833 IV 17, Pavia). On the role of Gisleramnus, see the observations of Francesco Veronese in this volume.
[77] In 834, Lothar granted the monastery the use of the timber and resources of the *Silva Carbonaria* and the use of the monastic boat for river navigation on the Ticino (MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 22, pp. 91-93 [834 VI 25, Pavia]); in 839 he granted the monastery to extend its perimeter to the city walls, which were enclosed within a precisely defined and delimited area, with its extension on all four sides and the neighbouring owners (MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 38, pp. 117-119 [839 V 6, Pavia]). Finally, in 841, Lothar appoints two counts as responsible for conducting an *inquisitio* of the properties and servants of the monastery who, according to Asia, had been diminished by «pravis ac invasoris hominibus» (MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 59, pp. 165-166 [841 VII 20, Aachen]).
[78] The memory of Cunipert as a benefactor of the monastery of Santa Maria Theodota is later evoked in the diploma confirming the monastery's assets issued by Lothar I's son, Louis II in 871: it specifies that the assets covered by the diploma had come to the monastery through the

and his men. In 834 – the same year in which Lothar is said to have drowned Gerberga – the diploma granting Santa Maria Theodota new public resources in fact specifies, in an unprecedented formula, that the royal donation compensated for the inherent fragility of the female abbess Asia and the other nuns[79]. In Pavia, Lothar stood as a defender of public honour and, at the same time, as an implacable enforcer of lawful violence.

4. *Conclusions*

The age of Lothar seems to have been a time of clarification and greater adherence to the rules set during the immediately preceding period regarding the role and joint actions of the consort couple. The figure of Ermengard is a clear example of this and the lack of criticism of her seems to be the clearest proof of her irreproachability. Far from being merely a serial mother, Ermengarda's adherence to the canon of the incorruptible bride constituted one of the elements that contributed to Lothar's acceptance even in a wider imperial space. As we have seen, immediately after Ermengard's death criticism of Lothar and his sons resurfaced, as if it had been Ermengard herself who had kept them in check, at least from the perspective of exemplary imperial behaviour.

Even the punishment of Gerberga – beyond the motivations that generated it – appears dictated by the will to act within a legitimate groove, in a series of actions that, far from being the fruit of unmotivated anger, are instead the manifestation of the will to stage an extreme punishment in line with an extreme interpretation of public justice. Undoubtedly, the fact that Lothar did not stimulate the drafting of a *Vita Lotharii* that explicitly considered his point of view in a context of praise and appreciation is an important sign: a sign of the uncertainty as to the final outcome of the family crisis and of the discord between the brothers and their father, which in itself undermined the foundations of the Old Testament ideology that had contributed so substantially to building the foundations of the legitimacy of the Carolingian order. Lothar's insistence on his imperial identity also derives fundamentally from his adherence to the rules and his desire to pursue this role even in complex contexts such as Italy. The insistence on issuing capitularies is, after all, the most consistent proof of his explicit intention to reiterate and, to some extent, also to renew the social norms that intersected the various contingencies that Lothar had to face through a public instrument of power. The very mobility of Lothar, who stubbornly reaffirmed his position as designated emperor

benevolence of Lothar himself and that those granted in 871 were based on «quod Chunipert rex inibi per suum contulit preceptum» (MGH, DD Lu II, n. 53, pp. 170-171 [871 IV 14, Benevento]).

[79] The expression is reserved for the diploma of 834: in 833 Asia herself was mentioned by her diploma simply as «Asia venerabilis abbatissa ex monasterio Dodosi, quod est situm intra muros civitatis Papiae» (MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 12, p. 77 [833 IV 17, Pavia]).

during his sojourns in Italy, is in the end evidence of his desire to present himself as the supreme authority even in a space that might have been hostile to him. This space is particularly evident if one examines it in terms of gender, a dimension in which violence against women and the powerful revival of the theme of female fragility builds one of the assumptions on which the relationship between women and men is constructed. At least in theory. On the other hand, the conscious resumption of joint action by marital couples, which, starting precisely from Lothar's experience, begins to echo from below the idea of *consortium* through joint donations of land and *mobilia* testifies, even if only indirectly, to the concrete participation of women in donations and thus to the possibility of forging bonds of affection, loyalty or simply of custom within a space wider than the domestic one[80]. After all, without such participation and renewed visibility, Engelberga's entirely surprising experience at the side of Louis II represents one of the possible outcomes of the *consortium,* within a dynamic of renewed public exposure of the empress, simply unthinkable a few decades earlier. The insistence on the control of women's bodies as a form of renewed control to protect the fragility of women's minds is, after all, more an assertion of principle than an actual practice, as is clear from the moments in which, within the *consortium* itself, unforeseen and perhaps even unimaginable modes of action from the past can subsequently unfold.

[80] See for instance the joint will of Count Eberhard of Friuli and his wife Gisla, daughter of Emperor Louis the Pious in 867 (La Rocca, Provero, *The dead and their gifts*).

Works cited

Agnellus Ravennatis, *Liber Pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D.M. Delyiannis, Turnhout 2006 (CCCM, 199).

Agobardus, *Liber Apologeticus*, I, in *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, ed. L. van Acker, Turnhout 1981 (CCCM, 52).

S. Airlie, *Private bodies and the body's politics in the divorce case of Lothar II*, in «Past & Present», 161 (1998), pp. 3-38.

S. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians, 751-888*, London 2021.

M. Betti, *The two versions of the life of Pope Sergius II in the* Liber pontificalis. *Anti-Frankish feeling in Rome after Louis II's expedition of 844*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 181-198.

P. Biavaschi, *L'ambiguo destino della* poena cullei *tra sopravvivenza e innovazione*, in *Codice Teodosiano e tradizioni giuridiche in Occidente. La terra, strumento di arricchimento e sopravvivenza*, ed. G. Bassanelli Sommariva, S. Tarozzi, P. Biavaschi, Santarcangelo di Romagna (RN) 2016, pp. 169-186.

F. Bougard, Culpabilis iudicetur. *Réparation et châtiment des crimes et délits dans les lois «barbares»*, in F. Bougard, *Justice, culture juridique, pratiques documentaires durant le haut Moyen Âge (VI^e^-XI^e^ siècle)*, Spoleto 2024, pp. 3-49.

C.M. Booker, *Past Convinctions. The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*, Philadelphia 2009.

C.M. Booker, *By the body betrayed: Blushing in the Penitential State*, in *Carolingian experiments*, ed. M.B. Gillis, Turnhout 2022, pp. 221-244.

E. Bournazel, *Réflexions sur le role et la place de la reine dans le palais royal et le gouvernement aux temps mérovingiens*, in *Le corti nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 2015 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 62), pp. 385-428.

G. Bührer-Thierry, *"Just anger" or "Vengful anger"? The punishment of blinding in the early medieval West*, in *Anger's Past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B.H. Rosenwein, Ithaca (NY) 1998, pp. 75-91.

P. Chastang, *Entre histoire et reconstruction des origines. Les actes anciens (IX^e^ siècle) des cartulaires de Gellone*, in *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge*. Actés de la table ronde d'aoûte 1998, ed. C. Duhamel-Amado, X. Barral i Altet, Montpellier 2000, pp. 65-74.

F.E. Consolino, *La poesia epigrafica a Pavia longobarda nell'VIII secolo*, in *Storia di Pavia. II. L'alto medioevo*, Pavia 1987, pp. 159-176.

M. Cristini, *Matasuintha: From Gothic Queen to Imperial Woman*, in *Empresses-in-waiting. Female Power and Performance at the Late Roman Court*, ed. C. Rollinger, N. Viermann, Liverpool 2024, pp. 243-260.

M. de Jong, *Exegesis for an Empress*, in *Medieval Transformations. Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, ed. E. Cohen, M. de Jong, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001**,** pp. 69-100.

M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, Cambridge 2009.

M. de Jong, *Epitaph for an era. Politics and Rhetoric in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2019.

F. De Rubeis, *Epigrafia femminile: la trasformazione delle virtù*, in *Agire da donna. Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X)*. Atti del convegno (Padova, 18-19 febbraio 2005), ed. C. La Rocca, Turnhout 2007, pp. 53-73.

P. Delogu, *«Consors regni»: un problema carolingio*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 76 (1968), pp. 47-98.

N. Demarchi, *Paolo Diacono e il dolore. Il racconto di un'emozione*, Turnhout 2024.

Gregorii Turonensis *Liber in gloria martyrum*, in *Gregorii Turonensis Miracula et opera minora*, ed. B. Krusch, pp. 34-111 (MGH, SS rer. Merov., 1,2).

K. Herbers, *Papst Leo IV. Und das Papstum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit*, Stuttgart 2017.

Hrabani Mauri *Carmina*, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler, II, Berlin 1884 (MGH, Poetae, 2).

M. Innes, *Queenship in Dispute: Fastrada, History and Law*, in *Writing the Early Medieval West. Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, ed. E. Screen, C. West, Cambridge 2018, pp. 230-247.

Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1985.
C. La Rocca, *Pouvoirs des femmes, pouvoir de la loi dans l'Italie Lombarde*, in *Femmes et pouvoirs de femmes à Bysance et en Occident,* ed. S. Lebecq, A. Dierkens, R. Le Jan, J.-M. Sansterre, Lille 1999, pp. 37-50.
C. La Rocca, L. Provero, *The Dead and their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and his Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863-864)*, in *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle* Ages, ed. F.C.W.J. Theuws, J.L. Nelson, Leiden 2000, pp. 225-280.
R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e^-X^e^ siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale*, Paris 1995.
R. Le Jan, *L'épouse du comte du IX^e^ au XI^e^ siècle: transformation d'un modèle et idéologie du pouvoir*, in *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident (VI^e^-XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. S. Lebecq, A. Dierkens, R. Le Jan, J.-M. Sansterre, Lille 1999, pp. 65-73.
R. Le Jan, *Le couple aristocratique au haut Moyen Âge*, in «Médiévales», 65 (2013), pp. 33-46.
R. Le Jan, *Les reines franques du VI^e^ au X^e^ siècle: de la sphère privée à la sphère publique?*, in *Augusta, Regina, Basilissa. La souveraine de l'Empire romain au Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Chausson, S. Destephen, Paris 2018, pp. 81-102.
R. Le Jan, *Amis ou ennemis? Émotions, relations, identité au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2024.
Leges Burgundionum, ed. L. De Salis, Hannover 1892 (MGH, LL nat. Germ., 2/1).
Leges Langobardorum, ed. G. Pertz, Hannover 1868 (MGH, LL, 4).
Liber Memorialis von Remiremont, ed. E. Hlawitschka, K. Schmid, G. Tellenbach, München 1970 (MGH, Libri mem., 1/1-2).
M. Lightman, W. Zeisel, *Univira: An Example of Continuity and Change in Roman Society*, in «Church History», 46 (1977), pp. 19-30.
S. MacLean, *Queenship, nunneries and royal widowhood in Carolingian Europe*, in «Past & Present», 178 (2003), pp. 3-38.
S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century. Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*, New York (NY) 2003.
S. MacLean, *Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the post-Carolingian Kingdoms*, in *Diverging paths? The shapes of power and institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, ed. J.G.H. Hudson, A.M. Rodriguez López, Leiden 2014, pp. 291-320.
S. MacLean, *Frontiers and fortifications in the Carolingian imperial imagination*, in *Carolingian Frontiers: Italy and Beyond*, ed. M. Betti, F. Borri, S. Gasparri, Florence 2024 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 48), pp. 141-159.
Z. Mistry, *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages, c. 500-900*, Woodbridge 2015.
J.L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London 1996.
J.L. Nelson, *Women at the court of Charlemagne: a case of monstrous regiment?*, in *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London 1996, pp. 223-242.
J.L. Nelson, *Public histories and private histories in the work of Nithard*, in J.L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in early medieval Europe*, London 1986, pp. 195-237.
J.L. Nelson, *Kings with justice, kings without justice: an early medieval paradox*, in *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)*, Spoleto 1997 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 44), pp. 797-826.
J.L. Nelson, *Courts, elites and gendered power in the Early Middle Age. Charlemagne and others*, Aldershot 2007.
J.L. Nelson, *The Wary Widow*, in J.L. Nelson, *Courts, elites and gendered power in the early Middle Ages. Charlemagne and others*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 82-113.
J.L. Nelson, *Bertrada*, in Nelson, *Courts, elites and gendered power in the early Middle Ages. Charlemagne and others*, Aldershot 2007, 93-108.
J.L. Nelson, *Making a difference in eight-century politics: the daughters of Desiderius*, in Nelson, *Courts, elites and gendered power in the early Middle Ages. Charlemagne and others*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 171-190.
J.L. Nelson, *Gendering Courts in the Early Medieval West*, in Nelson, *Courts, elites and gendered power in the early Middle Ages. Charlemagne and others*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 185-197.
J.L. Nelson, *Du couple et des couples à l'époque carolingienne*, in «Médiévales», 65 (2013), pp. 19-32.
Nithardi *Historiarum Libri IIII*, ed. E. Müller, Hannover-Leipzig 1907 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 44).

W. Pezé, *Compétition et fidélité à l'épreuve de la guerre de succession (840-843)*, in *Coopétition. Rivaliser, coopérer dans les sociétés du haut Moyen Âge (500-1100)*, ed. R. Le Jan, G. Bürer-Thierry, S. Gasparri, Turnhout 2018, pp. 141-166.
Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1878 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 48).
Pauli et Petri *diaconorum carmina*, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini*, I, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1881 (MGH, Poetae, 1).
D.M. Polanichka, A. Cilley, *The very personal history of Nithard: family and honour in the Carolingian world*, in «Early Medieval Europe», 22 (2014), pp. 171-200.
B.H. Rosenwein, *Friends and Family, Politics and Privilege in the Kingship of Berengar I*, in *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. S. Cohn, S. Epstein, Ann Arbor (Mich.) 1996, pp. 91-106.
B.H. Rosenwein, *The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)*, in «Speculum», 71 (1996), pp. 247-289.
E. Schoolman, *Representations of Lothar I in the* Liber Pontificalis Ravennatis, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Florence 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 111-129.
Sedulii Scotti *Carmina*, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. L. Traube, III, Berlin 1896, pp. 151-240 (MGH, Poetae, 3).
P. Stafford, *The King's Wife in Wessex 800-1066*, in «Past & Present», 91 (1981), pp. 3-27.
P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers. The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, London 1983.
P. Stafford, *Queens and Treasure in the Early Middle Ages*, in *Treasure in the Medieval West*, ed. E.M. Tyler, Woodbridge 2000, pp. 61-82.
P. Stafford, *Fathers and Daughters*, in *Writing, kingship and power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.A. Woodmann, R. Naismith, Cambridge 2018, pp. 139-161.
Y. Thomas, Parricidium. *I. Le père, la famille et la cité (La* lex Pompeia *et le systèmes des poursuits publiques)*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome», 93 (1981), pp. 643-715.
F. Veronese, *Contextualizing marriage: conjugality and Christian life in Jonas of Orléans'* De institutione laicali, in «Early Medieval Europe», 23 (2015), pp. 436-456.
F. Veronese, *Giona di Orléans. Istruzioni di vita per laici*, Ospedaletto (TR) 2018.
F. Veronese, *Un franco (anzi due) in Brianza. Gli ultimi anni di Ugo di Tours e sua moglie Ava (834-39)*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020, pp. 155-163.

Maria Cristina La Rocca
University of Padua (Italy)
mariacristina.larocca@unipd.it
0000-0001-8634-9809

Writing for aristocrats, writing as aristocrats: notarial strategies and graphic self-representation in the documentation of the elites of the *regnum**

by Gianmarco De Angelis, Laura Pani

Was there, in the Italic kingdom during the early and high Carolingian age, a type of documentation that is identifiable as aristocratic not only by genesis? That is, did there exist, in the charters produced at the request of counts and bishops (these are the "aristocrats" at the center of attention, the upper echelons of an official and ecclesiastical aristocracy defined on the basis of the *Königsnähe*), peculiar and consciously distinctive graphic-formal solutions and practices of self-representation? Moving into a well-established strand of scholarship, the essay offers some considerations on the forms and functions of written culture as a reflection (and definition, interpretation) of political dynamics and forms of power, particularly investigating moments and degrees of penetration of the new Carolingian minuscule into the highest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as an adherence to the Carolingian political program.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Italy; kingdom of Italy; Carolingians; counts; bishops; charters and archives; caroline minuscule; documentary culture.

* The essay, part of the outcomes of the PRIN 2017 *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*, PI Giuseppe Albertoni (research unit of the University of Padua, coord. Gianmarco De Angelis), is the result of a common elaboration between the two authors. In particular, Gianmarco De Angelis is responsible for paragraphs 1-2, Laura Pani for paragraphs 3-4.

Gianmarco De Angelis, University of Padua, Italy, gianmarco.deangelis@unipd.it, 0000-0002-1668-4510
Laura Pani, University of Udine, Italy, laura.pani@uniud.it, 0000-0002-5364-1392

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Gianmarco De Angelis, Laura Pani, *Writing for aristocrats, writing as aristocrats: notarial strategies and graphic self-representation in the documentation of the elites of the* regnum, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.06, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 69-94, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

Bergamo = *Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo, a. 740-1000*, ed. M. Cortesi, Bergamo 1988 (Fonti per lo studio del territorio bergamasco, 8; Carte medievali bergamasche, 1).

ChLA, XXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXVII, Italy VIII, Asti, Cremona, Novara, Piacenza, Torino, publ. J.-O. Tjäder, Dietikon-Zürich 1992.

ChLA, XXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXVIII, Italy IX, Genova, Milano, Trieste, publ. R. Marichal, J-O. Tjäder, G. Cavallo, F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 1988.

ChLA, XXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVI, Italy XVII, Lucca, publ. G. Nicolaj, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.

ChLA, XXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVII, Italy XVIII, Lucca, publ. P. Supino Martini, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.

ChLA, XXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXIX, Italy XX, Lucca, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.

ChLA, XL = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XL, Italy XXI, Lucca, publ. M. Palma, F. Bianchi, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.

ChLA², LIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LIV, Italy XXVI, Ravenna 1, publ. G. Rabotti, F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2000.

ChLA², LV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LV, Italy XXVII, Ravenna II, Vaticano, Roma, publ. R. Cosma, Dietikon-Zürich 1999.

ChLA², LVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LVII, Italy XXIX, Novara, Torino, publ. G.-G. Fissore, A. Olivieri, Dietikon-Zürich 2001.

ChLA², LVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LVIII, Italy XXX, Pisa, Volterra, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2001.

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LXVIII, Italy XL, Piacenza 5, publ. P. Degni, Dietikon-Zürich 2006.

ChLA², LXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LXXII, Italy XLIV, Lucca 1, publ. C. Gattagrisi, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LXXIII, Italy XLV, Lucca 2, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.

ChLA², LXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LXXIV, Italy XLVI, Lucca 3, publ.F. Magistrale – C. Gattagrisi – P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2004.

ChLA², LXXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part LXXXVIII, Italy LX, Modena, Nonantola 1, publ. G. Feo, M. Al Kalak, M. Mezzetti, M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², XC = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part XC, Italy LXII, Arezzo, publ. G. Feo, G. Nicolaj, M. Calleri, C. Tristano, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

ChLA², XCII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part XCII, Italy LXIV, Parma 1, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

ChLA², XCIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part XCIII, Italy LXV, Parma 2, publ. C. Mantegna, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

ChLA², XCIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part XCIV, Italy LXVI, Milano 1, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
ChLA², XCVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part XCVIII, Italy LXX, Bergamo, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2017.
ChLA², CXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G.Nicolaj, part CXVII, Addenda 1, Italy, publ. S. Allegria, C. Drago Tedeschini, M. Galante, C. Gattagrisi, C. Mantegna, P. Massa, A. Mastruzzo, F. Santoni, G.E. Unfer Verre, Dietikon-Zürich 2019.
MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).
MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).
Placiti I = *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, ed. C. Manaresi, Roma 1955 (FSI, 92).

1. *Introduction*

Using the term "aristocracy" in a very broad sense – that is to say not limited to the evidence linked to family ancestry, social profile or lifestyle[1] – we will be focusing, in this paper, specifically on the documentation of comital and episcopal genesis (and/or pertinence). We will therefore look at the upper echelons of the aristocracy of the Italian kingdom, essentially defined on the basis of the *Königsnähe*[2], in its two components, official and ecclesiastical; and we will try to follow the documentary traces of their activities, the ways and forms in which they present themselves or are represented by notaries. The research questionnaire revolves around a few, essential questions, and aims to verify whether, in the self-representational ways of counts and bishops, as well as in the solutions devised by the writers of charters pertaining to them, it is possible to trace signs of distinction with respect to the rest of the contemporary documentary production.

We will therefore focus on just two of the aspects that Cristina Carbonetti, in the conference on *La nobiltà romana nel medioevo*, had already identified as essential to the study of the links between written documentation and social prominence. In addition to the processes and mechanisms of production/self-representation, we should also consider, indeed, «l'ambito della conservazione e della trasmissione della memoria documentaria, vista come componente essenziale e imprescindibile del patrimonio e dell'identità familiari»[3].

[1] Airlie, *The Aristocracy*, pp. 431-432. For a wider historiographical discussion see Bougard, Bührer-Thierry, Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge*.
[2] On the importance of relations between aristocratic groups and the court and for the very identitary definition of the former see Airlie, *Semper fideles?*.
[3] Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Documentazione scritta*, p. 323. The question was later taken up, for the entire Early Middle Ages, in relation to the broader scenario of the *regnum* and for a wider clientele, by Bougard, *Notaires d'élite* («En quoi, d'autre part, les notaires peuvent-ils contribuer à la distinction de l'élite, c'est-à-dire fournir des produits documentaires à même d'exprimer la qualité et le prestige de leurs clients?», p. 440), in an essay focused more on the reconstruction of social profiles and even official links with powers and institutions.

Here, it must immediately be said that there is really no direct evidence to be found within the geographical expanse and the chronological span examined (Central-Northern Italy during the early Carolingian age, from the conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774 to the death of the Emperor Lothar I in 855). The earliest attestation I find in the documentation in which we are interested is very well known but later than the chronology considered here, namely that in the last will of Elbunc, bishop of Parma and former arch-chancellor of the Emperors Guy and Lambert, dated April 914. The issuer himself took care to establish that, in addition to the original, four *exemplaria* should be drawn up, to be deposited in the royal palace of Pavia («in testimonio»), as well as in the episcopal seats of Piacenza, Modena and Reggio Emilia[4]. This practice, at least in Parma (still in a testamentary disposition and in relation to a complex of assets that extended over a large part of the kingdom), may have had some significant antecedent in the *post obitum* donation of Wibod, powerful bishop of the city from 860 to 895[5]: although in the absence of a multiple drafting formula such as that in the later Elbunc charter, the original Parma will and its contemporary copy, preserved *ab antiquo* in the archive of the cathedral of Piacenza, point decisively in this direction.

Undoubtedly the proximity to the court, to the entourage and to the chancellery mechanisms of these foremost episcopal figures are elements that could justify such choices, as well as a strong awareness of the importance of archival preservation (which seems to recall Louis the Pious's provisions regarding the ways of preserving and disseminating certain capitularies)[6]. It is a cultural proximity, certainly, but also a physical, material proximity (Wibod, already *fidelissimus* of the Empress Angelberga, had been a key figure in the entourage of all the Carolingian sovereigns from Louis II to Charles III, maintaining a strong position even during the reign of Guy of Spoleto, whose arch-chaplain he was to become)[7]. And, moving on to the central theme of our reconstruction and still taking Carbonetti's words as a reference, the same contiguity can certainly also explain, those «significati volti a caricare la scrittura documentaria della funzione di esprimere e comunicare il potere, il prestigio, l'autorevolezza di coloro al cui nome i documenti stessi sono intestati»[8]. This, it seems to me, is the case of Autramn's *libellum dotis* for his wife Adelburga, issued in Gondreville by the *notarius* Reinricus, from which our reconstruction can undoubtedly take a cue.

[4] *Le carte degli archivi parmensi*, p. 54.
[5] ChLA², XCII, n. 24 (892 VII 5); copy in ChLA², LXX, n. 37.
[6] See the discussion in McKitterick, *Zur Herstellung von Kapitularien*. Also Pössel, *Authors and recipients of Carolingian capitularies*, in particular pp. 259-264.
[7] Lazzari, *Tra Ravenna e regno*. See also Provero, *Churches and dynasties*.
[8] Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Documentazione scritta*, p. 324.

2. *Between* cartule *and* decreta*: agency, communication, writing patterns*

The new edition of Autramn's *libellum dotis* for the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*[9] has had the merit of placing its redaction, moving it forward by 20 years, to 14 August 843, when in «Gundulfo palacium regis» – one of Lothar's favourite residences[10] – where we know that the emperor was surrounded by some of the magnates of the Italian kingdom (Bishops Hagan of Bergamo, Notting of Verona, Amalric of Como also abbot of Bobbio, Eberhard of Friuli), who had travelled beyond the Alps to obtain diplomas or act as intercessors, cementing relations with the court in the complicated days of the reorganisation of Verdun[11]. Among these *supporters* of Lothar was also Autramn, and it is fairly easy to suppose that the goods donated to his wife Adelburga «perpetualiter ad possidendum» – a *curtis* with 30 mansi in the territory of Vercelli plus 90 servants and *ancillae* – represented a high-profile landed property set up by the emperor himself for the benefit of one of his *fidelis* who, already a few months earlier, in March 843, with the lofty title of «comes in Dei nomine», had made his appearance on the scene of the *regnum*, purchasing various properties in the territory near Sala Bolognese[12]. This is not the place to dwell in detail on the territorial rootedness of this man (who, from 848, would appear in a notarial charter as Count of Cittanova)[13], on his land investment strategies in the area close to, and in addition to, his complex of fiscal properties, nor on his exceptionally – and significantly – rich life (he would follow Louis II as *signifer* of a *scara* of the army headed against the Saracens, and that title of *comes gloriosus* that notaries sometimes give him may perhaps allude just to his military merits). This has already been investigated by Andrea Castagnetti and recently, with greater breadth and depth, by Edoardo Manarini, and their research should certainly be referred to with profit[14].

I therefore return to the *dotarium* of 843 and its undoubted peculiarities, both from the textual point of view, and in its visual presentation (Fig. 1). The drafting, as is evident, stands out for its remarkable accuracy. It is solemn in its editorial solutions, right from the beginning of the text, with a very broad arenga that, in the legitimation and celebration of the conjugal union, skill-

[9] ChLA², XCII, n. 3 (843 VIII 14, Gondreville).
[10] Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium regis*, I, pp. 24, 31.
[11] At Gondreville, some ninety kilometres south of Verdun, and then (between 28th and 29th August) at Remiremont, Lothar granted five diplomas exclusively to Italian recipients (one to Ortinus, vassal of the bishop of Verona Notting, to the patriarchal Church of Aquileia, to Amalric of Como, two to the episcopal Church of Arezzo): see MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, nn. 75, 76, 77, 78, 79. On the granting of diplomas by Lothar after the battle of Fontenoy see Screen, *The importance*, pp. 39-43; on the value of these sovereign concessions as a means of strengthening the power networks between the two sides of the Alps in the later Lothar age see also Mersiowsky, *Towards a reappraisal*, p. 22.
[12] ChLA², LXVIII, n. 29 (844 III 12).
[13] ChLA², XCII, n. 5 (848 IX 22).
[14] Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie*, pp. 610-611; Manarini, *Politiche regie e attivismo*, pp. 40 ss.

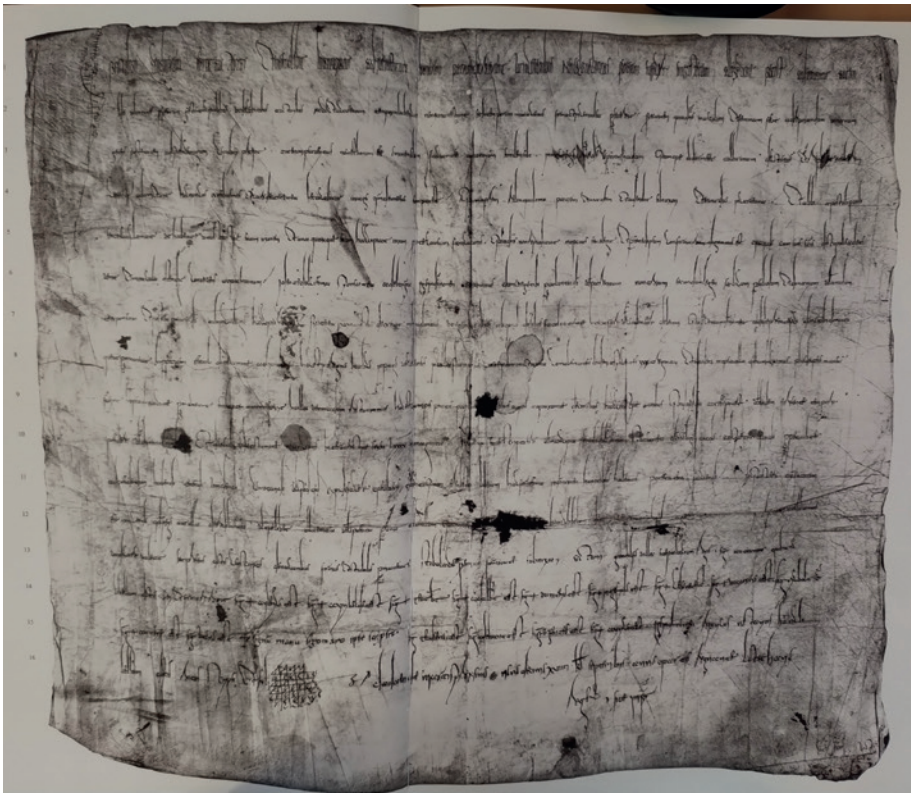

Fig. 1. ChLA2, XCII, n. 3 (843 VIII 14, Gondreville).

fully assembles literal quotations from biblical passages (the creation of Eve *ex ossibus* by Adam) and passages from Paul (the *First Letter to the Corinthians*), with a freer take on the Gospel episode of the Wedding at Cana[15]. It is visually distinctive, thanks to a balanced, airy layout, a first line in *litterae elongatae* and the use of a clearly chancery style of writing that imitates that of the contemporary royal and imperial *precepta* in the prolongation of the

[15] Rightly La Rocca, *Les cadeaux nuptiaux*, p. 513, underlines the absence of a similar effort of rhetorical elaboration in the *dotalicium* of Louis II for Angelberga (MGH, DD Lu II, n. 30, pp. 125-127; ChLA², XCIII, n. 5 [851 and 860 X 5, Marengo]), where the arenga, much shorter and simplified, without any reprise of religious motives to legitimize the conjugal union, limits itself to sanctioning the *consortium* thus constituted by recalling that «quisquis sibi legitimo tradere uxore maluerit sociari et nubendi copulam honesto decore sortiri»: a demonstration of "normality", that of the royal couple, which is, however, traced back to (and legitimized by) the tradition of the Frankish sovereigns, and endorsed by the ostentatious presence of the magnates of the kingdom at the time of the juridical action. For a political reading of Angelberga's *dotarium*, in the light of the conflicts between the *proceres regni* at the court of Louis II, see Manarini, *Sex, Denigration and Violence*, pp. 205-242.

auctions, in the artificial rendering of the "bridge" ligatures *et* and *ct*, and in the use of the abbreviation sign intertwined with knots. Also unsurprising is the scribe's use of a "hash" *signum* close to his signature, a customary feature in chancery *recognitiones* and widespread in contemporary transalpine customs[16]. In general, what I would like to emphasise is the strong and conscious project of solemnising the documentary event by a notary who was not a chancellor and not otherwise known.

I have found no similar examples, beyond the Alps, in documents of comital origin (where, if anything, a possible model of writing – and yet with equal distinctive force – could have been represented by the reference to the minuscule caroline with an evident librarian matrix, as in the later *libellum prestatorium* granted by Count Rudolf, lay abbot of Saint-Maurice of Agaune, to the Empress Angelberga in 878)[17]. And not one such, especially in Italy, where the dominant notarial practices and the tenacious cursive tradition allow so few chances for similar operations and may, if anything, show some scruples of balance and a straightening of writing in documents of high commission. This is the case, for example, for a *traditio* of 816 by Audelinda «relicta quondam Auterami, qui fuit comis cives Bergomensis»[18] (Fig. 2), which Armando Petrucci has already noted as being distinguished «per l'alta qualità della scrittura cancelleresca del rogatario (...) e per la correttezza della sua ortografia latina»[19]. Fluid and straight, with the ascenders terminating "in a club" and the descenders of *p* and *q* ending with elegant swirls, well aligned on the line, the writing of this *notitia* and its textual structure itself – one of the first examples of the clear importing of transalpine legal-documentary models into the *regnum*[20] – finds significant convergences with another, almost contem-

[16] An example, undoubtedly simplified, as a personal elaboration of the s*(ub)s(crip)s(i)* compendium, closes the sub-scription of Count Oliba of Carcassonne at the foot of a charter of precaria of 820: see *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121*, n. 3770; digital reproduction at <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte3770/>. A not very different *signum* was to be found at the beginning of the 10th century in Bergamo – not by chance in the signature of an individual, Leotricus, who professed Salica law, and in that of a certain Arno, on whose geographical origin and ethnic-juridical characterization we are not informed, however: see, respectively, Bergamo, n. 49 (910 X, Bergamo, *Foro*), and n. 42 (906 VII, Bergamo).

[17] ChLA², XCIII, n. 22 (878 III 25). We do not know the graphic layout of the original, but the copy – almost contemporary – of the charter of August 865 with which Count Ermenulf (perhaps son of Erembert, *fidelis* of Louis II and recipient of a diploma issued by the latter in August 865) begged Angelberga to intercede with her husband the emperor to confirm the granting of the benefit of the monastery of Massino (ChLA², XCIII, n. 6 [865 VIII 14, Stabio]) is similarly in a beautiful and well-composed caroline minuscule. A different option is the one – individually pursued in the Comtat de Ribagorça at the height of the Carolingian era – of a certain scribe called *Langobardus*, who in 848 or 849 drew up a diploma on behalf of the Count and Marquis Frédelon for the abbey of Lavaix «à l'imitation d'un précepte royal aussi bien par son contenu que par sa forme externe, jusque dans la présence d'un sceau» (Bougard, *Notaires d'élite*, pp. 439-440).

[18] ChLA², XCVIII, n. 4 (816 VII 19). On Auteram and, more generally, on the introduction of the Carolingian comital institution in Bergamo, see Jarnut, *Bergamo 568-1098*, pp. 32, 87-91. See also Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 36, 144.

[19] Petrucci, Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, p. 70.

[20] Mantegna, *Documento privato*, p. 117.

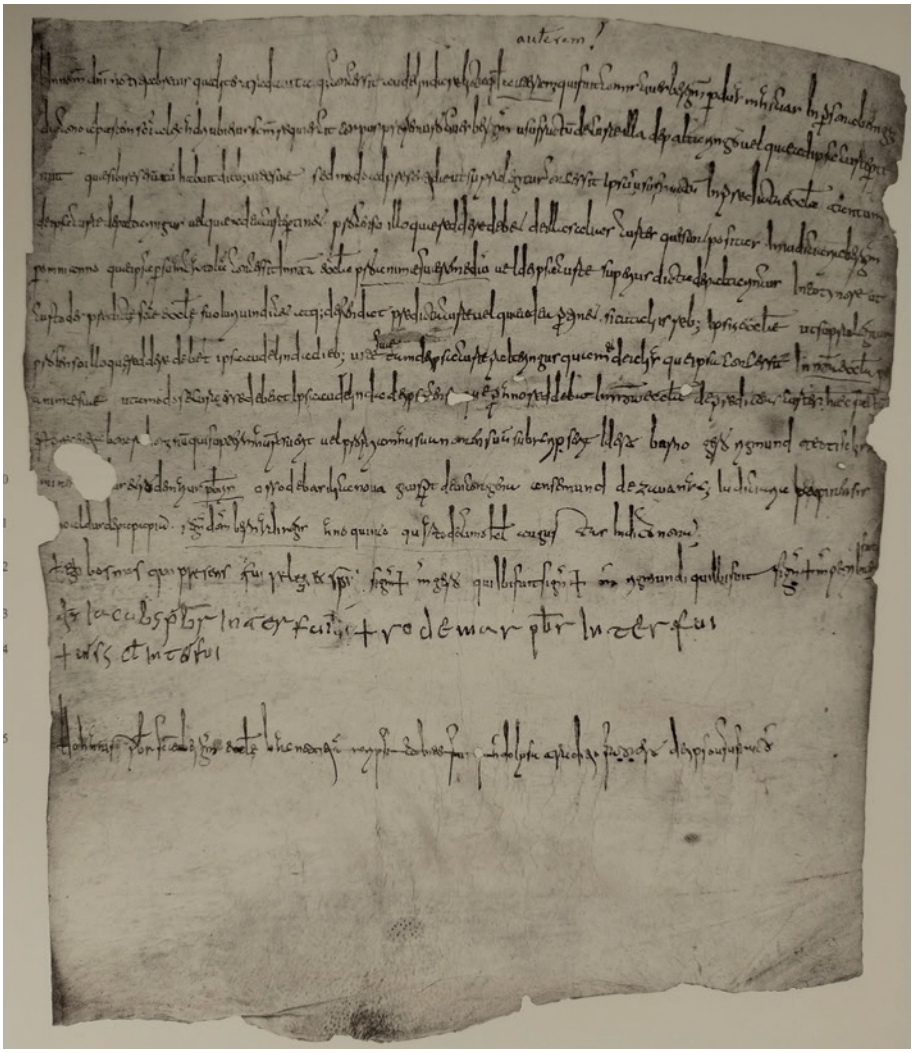

Fig. 2. ChLA2, XCVIII, n. 4 (816 VII 19).

porary charter of "aristocratic" matrix: the testamentary disposition of Cunegonda, widow of Bernard king of Italy, given in Parma in June 835[21] (Fig. 3). Beyond its regular and composed *mise en page* – in a much softer cursive and better aligned on the line than the other known document of its writer, *Aresindus notarius*[22] – Cunegonda's *cartola traditionis* stands out for two

[21] ChLA², XCIII, n. 2 (835 VI 16, Parma)
[22] ChLA², XCII, n. 8 (853 VI 26, Parma).

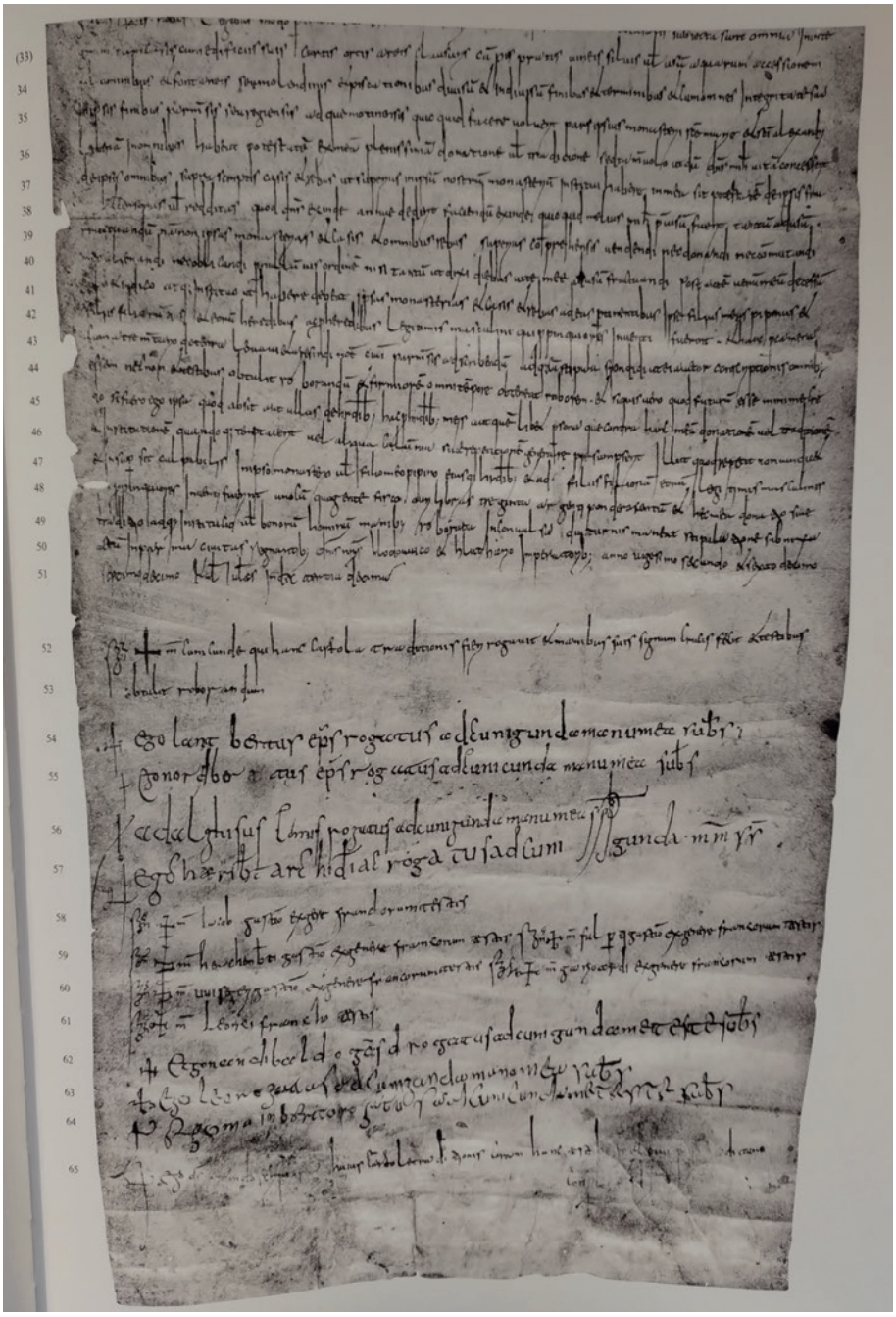

Fig. 3. ChLA2, XCIII, n. 2 (835 VI 16, Parma).

highly distinctive elements. Firstly – and representing an absolute *hapax* in Italian documentation of the time outside the production of diplomas[23] – for the presence of a wax seal in the lower right-hand corner of the parchment: now lost, it is impossible to say whether it was affixed by the notary himself in imitation of chancery models or later, for greater *securitas* of the transaction, when the assets subject to the bequest were "sucked" into the complex patrimonial transactions of Angelberga, who belonged to the powerful Supponide clan of Parma[24]. Secondly, visually strongly characterising the charter is its extensive corroboration apparatus, rich in no less than thirteen testimonial subscriptions (seven of which are autographs), in the hands of, successively, the bishops of the area (Lampert of Parma and Nordbert of Reggio), the powerful Count Adalgis, the Archdeacon Heribert, many gastalds *ex genere Francorum,* plus a couple of other laymen with no titles.

In Cunegonda's charter, the dense eschatocol (Fig. 4) raises a further type of question: can one find in the corroborating apparatuses of the charters requested by members of the secular aristocracy a distinctive behaviour aimed at reflecting and communicating a certain image of power? Do the eschatocols of diplomatically private charters become, in short, «privileged places of writing», as in the case of the *placiti*?[25] And, if so, in what way are they conceived and materially achieved? Can one discern in them an aspiration towards order and rationalising, giving the sense of a hierarchical arrangement of the witnesses' subscriptions?

The conclusions, again, seem to me to point in a negative direction. Beyond the constraints imposed by the dynamics of the early medieval documentary tradition, there is, additionally, a lack of truly solemn occasions for counts and countesses to require the convergence of a large and socially qualified number of presences at the location where the agreement was issued.

Apart from the *placiti* (59 up to the year 855, 16 of which were presided over or co-chaired by counts), the documentary traces refer to (a few) ordinary operations of land accumulation (the most extensive dossier is that, already mentioned, of the *comes* Autramn) and to donations of no great size (although of a certain political importance). Amongst these, the charter of October 810 with which Count Wicheram and his wife Mona donated *pro anima* to the church of the Salvatore they had built *in Vetruniana*, near Lucca, the land on which the building stands, two *massaricie* houses and some lands in the surrounding area, seems almost emblematic[26]. Among the witnesses we find

[23] With the notable exception of the use of the wax seal in epistolary communication, an example of which (a letter of recommendation for a priest from Lucca sent to the bishop of Pisa) can be found edited and discussed in Mastruzzo, *Una littera formata*. New edition in ChLA², LVIII, n. 14 (827 IX 1 – 828 VIII 31, Lucca).

[24] See the introduction to the edition in ChLA², XCIII, n. 2, p. 19; for a comprehensive survey of Angelberga's estate, see Cimino, *Angelberga*.

[25] The famous expression is in Petrucci, Romeo, *Scrivere in "iudicio"*, p. 39 (the essay was later partially republished in Petrucci, Romeo, *Scriptores in urbibus*, pp. 195-236).

[26] ChLA², LXXIII, n. 36 (810 X 13).

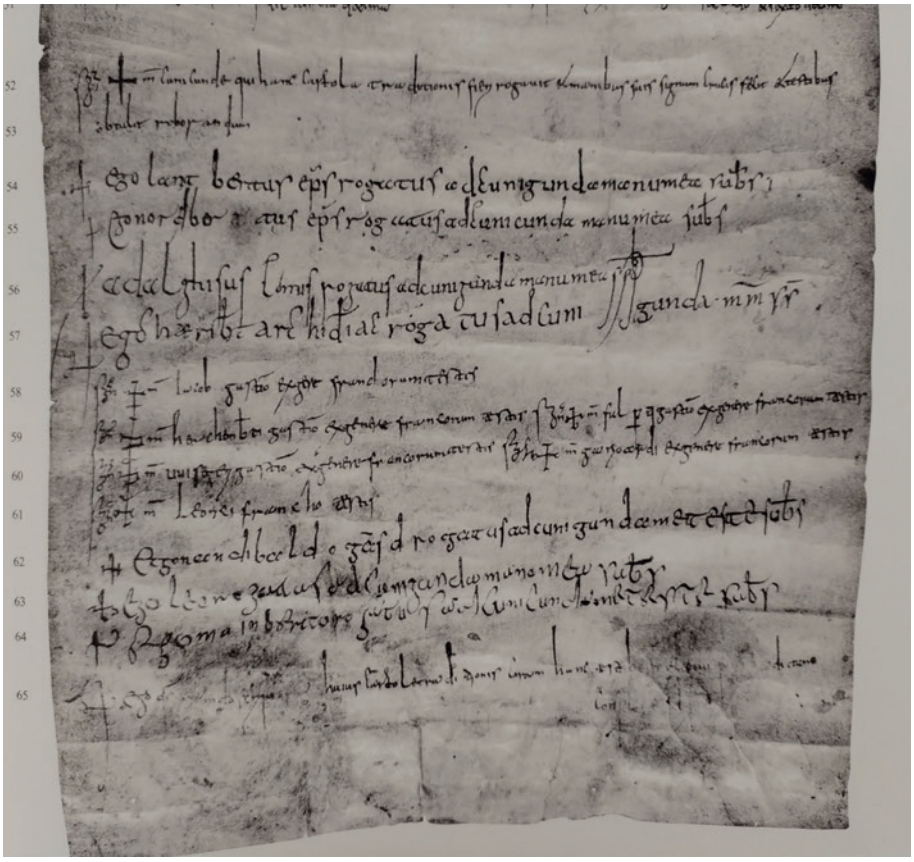

Fig. 4. ChLA2, XCIII, n. 2 (835 VI 16, Parma). *Escatochol.*

three *homines Francisci* at the head, then a couple of laymen with no titles (all of whom very probably *illitterati*) and an equal number of local priests. No particular «mostra dell'eminenza sociale», therefore, as for many eschatocols of charters linked to important members of the political structures of early medieval Italy[27]; significant, rather, is the presence of three Franks who, beyond respecting the practice that, in the charters of transalpine individuals, advised the summoning as witnesses of men of the same ethnic-juridical profession, perhaps indicates recent emigration and a recent territorial rooting.

An exception, in terms of the quality and quantity of the subjects present with testimonial functions, is the donation performed in 809/810[28] (Fig. 5)

[27] The expression is in Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, p. 56.

[28] For a more precise chronological determination of the complex document promoted by Ratold and Hucpald, as the dispensers of the assets of the deceased Veronese count Adumar, see *Le carte antiche*, pp. LXXI-LXXIV, and pp. 1-7.

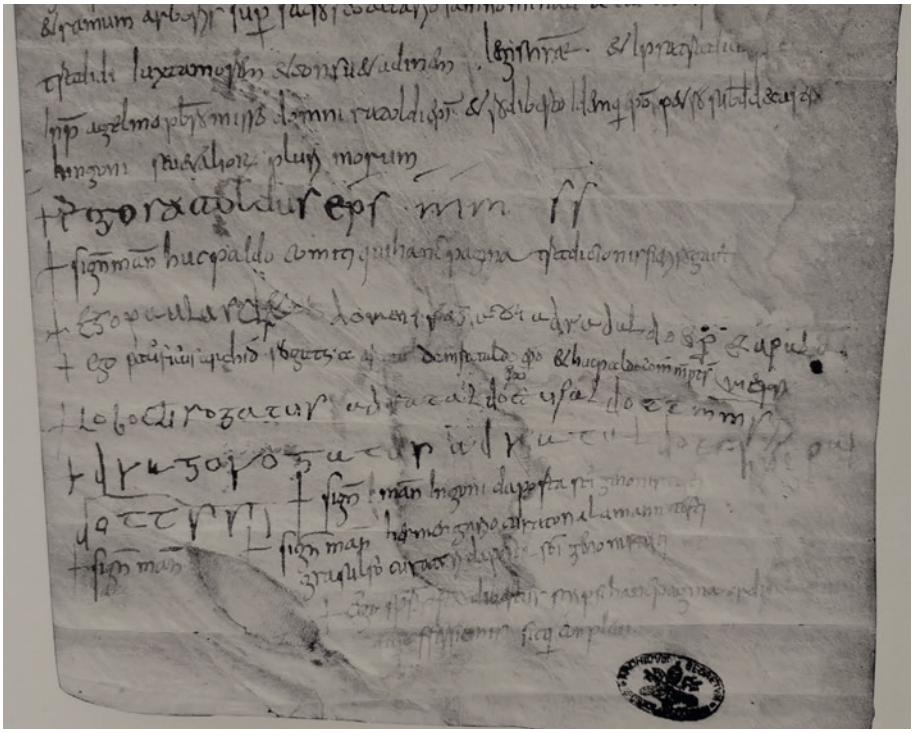

Fig. 5. ChLA2, LV, n. 2 (809 V 13, Verona).

by the bishop of Verona Ratold and the count of the city Hucpald (after the two, in hierarchical succession, we find the *vicedominus*, then the archdeacon Pacificus, a *clericus*, and various laymen including two *curatores*)[29]. But this is an exception that can be explained by the sensitivity of the situation (the executing of the will of the late Count Adumar) and, indeed, in the light of the direct involvement (and interest) of the city's highest ecclesiastical authorities. There is no doubt, in fact, that it is to the episcopal institutions that, from the very beginning of the Carolingian age a greater ability to attract the social and political elites in the documentary operations pertaining to them needs to be attributed. This is made clear, first of all, in the charters of exchange – a legal and documentary instrument that, in itself, by virtue of the numerous cautions to the advantage of the *pars ecclesiastica* put in place by the legislation since the Lombard age[30], favours a broad convergence of various personages on the place of stipulation, from episcopal *missi* to *extimatores*

[29] ChLA², LV, n. 2 (809 V 13, Verona).
[30] Bougard, *Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio*, in particular pp. 73-82. Still fundamental, for a juridical view, Vismara, *Ricerche sulla permuta*.

to witnesses, and urges a strong attention to the hierarchical arrangement in the presences in the eschatocollar apparatuses[31]. But there are also significant examples of this in the testamentary dispositions of the bishops themselves, from Peredeus of Lucca (778)[32] to Tachimpald of Bergamo (806)[33] to Atto of Novara (829)[34] up to – and with particular prominence – Billong of Verona (846)[35], whose *pagina ordinationis* saw the participation of no less than 15 witnesses, ecclesiastical and lay, including a vassal of the city's Count Bernard and one of the bishop's himself.

These are also clear signs, reproduced into the forms of communication entrusted to legal writings, of that episcopal capacity for social coordination and growth in political power that would come to its peak in the 10th-11th century, in what Giovanni Tabacco called the «sintesi istituzionale di vescovo e città»[36].

On the other hand, according to what the documentation allows us to observe, it is only in the episcopates that intellectual resources are concentrated that are capable of strongly linking legal writing and self-representation, even delineating a specific field of documentation concerning acts of internal jurisdiction characterized by the adoption of graphic styles, corroborative methods and distinctive attitudes of extra-notarial matrix that do not involve the participation of personnel from outside those same ecclesiastical institutions[37]. There is, for the first half of the ninth century, very little and scattered evidence (in addition to the lucchese *littera formata* already mentioned, I refer to the charter of foundation of the canonical chapter of Arezzo by Bishop Peter)[38], but they are destined, however, to grow in number in the following century and to be endowed with formal structures and textual features that were gradually more stable, and above all shared, certainly also due to an increasingly clear approximation of these episcopal *decreta* to the model of the royal diploma[39]. Stabilization and standardization reveal common cultural schemes and the maturing of the political and ideological consistency of the ecclesiastical leadership, but do not, on the other hand, refer to the functioning of any bureaucratic body within the episcopate: historians agree

[31] Those apparatuses considered not by chance, in the charters of exchanges involving episcopal hierarchies, as «nuclei fondanti del documento» by Fissore, *I documenti cancellereschi*, p. 283. Significative examples in the documentary production of Asti in Fissore, *Problemi della documentazione vescovile*, pp. 41-94 and – even further back in time and abundant in quantity – of Bergamo in De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini*, in particular pp. 23-25, 63-69.
[32] ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1065 (778 III 16, Lucca) and n. 1066 (second original).
[33] ChLA², XCVIII, n. 3 (806 I 26, Bergamo).
[34] ChLA², LVII, n. 1 (829 XII 29, Novara).
[35] ChLA², LX, n. 26 (846 XII 12, Verona).
[36] Tabacco, *La sintesi istituzionale*.
[37] General overview in Nicolaj, *Note di diplomatica vescovile*. Bibliographical updates in Baitieri, *Politics and documentary culture*.
[38] The foundation charter – considered a forgery by Calleri, *L'atto di fondazione* – has been edited as an authentic act in ChLA², XC, n. 8 (835 X 6 – 843 VIII 29).
[39] Ghignoli, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 660-661. Abundant examples, in relation to the case of Bergamo, in De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini*, pp. 153-185.

that there were no structured episcopal chanceries, nor a single centralised office for the production of diplomas. In the complete overlap – in terms of personnel and functions – between the major ecclesiastics of the *regnum* and the writers of those formidable instruments of political communication described by Wolfgang Huschner[40], the episcopal churches found, however, a further channel for asserting their centrality, being thus capable of influencing directly or indirectly even the self-representative strategies of the (few) civil institutions that would later show sensitivity in imprinting the solemn mark of their own political initiatives in legal writings[41].

3. *Writing as aristocrats*

My research has started from a census of the aristocrats' – i.e., as we established, bishops' and counts' – subscriptions in the documents issued in the *Regnum Italiae* from 774 to 855. The census has been based on the first and second series of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* but was limited to the volumes devoted to Italian libraries and archives, and particularly to the institutions located in the former *regnum* – a proximity between the place where documents were issued (and the geographical area they concerned), and their present place of conservation being taken for granted or at least mostly probable. I have excluded diplomas, forgeries and documents in a poor state of preservation, particularly when the eschatocol is damaged and therefore illegible. ninth century copies edited in the *ChLA* have been occasionally taken into consideration when the original documents contained aristocrats' subscriptions.

The research aimed to answer to the following questions, some of which have already been addressed by Gianmarco De Angelis in paragraph 2 of this paper:

How many aristocrats' signatures are now extant for the time span 774-855?

Among them, how many are autographs? How many are counts', and how many are bishops'?

What kind of documents do counts and bishops sign?

Do they sign together with other people, if so with whom, and what kind of relationship do they seem to entertain, at least as far as a hierarchy of the subscriptions is concerned?

What is their graphic culture? What kind of script do they use, and at what level of graphic competence do they manage it?

Is it possible to verify, through these signatures, the penetration of the Caroline minuscule in the *regnum Italiae*?

[40] Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation*.
[41] The reference is to Tomei, *Una nuova categoria documentaria*.

The study of the signatures and subscriptions to original documents of the Early Middle Ages, with paleographical and/or prosopographical intents, and in the perspective of the history of graphic culture is certainly not new. It has been the subject of research *in primis* by Armando Petrucci. Firstly, in 1972, he took a census of the subscriptions to the original documents of the seventh and eighth centuries, to investigate the different degrees of literacy and graphic competence of the subscribers, whether clerics or laymen, and the types of script taught, learnt, and used specifically in Lombard Italy at that time[42]. Petrucci's essay was then republished in 1992, as a chapter of his and Carlo Romeo's *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, a book entirely devoted, as its subtitle shows, to the literacy and graphic culture in early medieval Italy, and their relation to the social status of the writers, with chapters concerning specific areas – Milan and Bergamo, Lucca, Pisa, to mention only those within the chronological and geographical scope of this research[43]. Meanwhile, Paola Supino Martini explored the subscriptions – either autograph, partially autograph or allograph – in the private charters of Lucca from the eighth century, and related the habit of subscribing in one own's hand to the scribes' role in the documentary process, and to the documentary practices, more than to their graphic ability[44]. The graphic culture of the members of Tuscan comital families forming the so called "office aristocracy", and the relation between their graphic skills, their role as rulers and the fluctuations in their social prestige have been the subject of an article by Simone Collavini[45]. Antonio Ciaralli in 2007 – and again in 2010 with Massimiliano Bassetti – has focused on the writing of Count Leo I of Seprio and his sons, investigating the possible connections between writing and nationality – or rather, between writing and place of birth – and, following in the wake of Collavini, the graphic culture of members of the same family[46]. In recent years the completion of the second series of *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, by making available editions and photographic reproductions of many documents from the ninth century, has made possible larger-scale explorations, which Gianmarco De Angelis, and Nino Mastruzzo and Gaia Elisabetta Unfer Verre undertook, dealing with the graphic culture of minor public officials in Lombardy and in Lucca respectively[47].

The outcome of my census was not very satisfactory, particularly as far as the 21 volumes (XX to XL) of the first series of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* are concerned. Just 5 out of 202 documents dating 774-800, among which 187 are exploitable for this research, have aristocrats' subscriptions:

[42] Petrucci, *Libro, scrittura e scuola*, particularly pp. 323-330.
[43] Petrucci, Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, chapters I, III, IV, V, VIII.
[44] Supino Martini, *Le sottoscrizioni testimoniali*, pp. 87-108.
[45] Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura*, pp. 23-51 and particularly pp. 25-26, 29-35.
[46] Ciaralli, *Osservazioni paleografiche*, pp. 127-149; Bassetti, Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, pp. 285-311.
[47] De Angelis, *Scabini e altri ufficiali pubblici minori*, pp. 57-114; Mastruzzo, Unfer Verre, *Pubblici uffici*, pp. 107-145.

three by the bishop of Lucca Peredeus (*ante* 755-*post* 779)[48] and two by his successor John I (*ante* 781-*post* 800)[49]. A sixth subscription, by the count of Piacenza Aroin (791-823) is not autograph[50]. The perusal of the volumes LIV-XCIX, CXVIII[51] of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, 2nd series* was somewhat more encouraging, at least in terms of numbers. There are 51 documents with aristocrats' subscriptions out of 747 documents dating 800-855 and usable for the purposes of this research; the subscriptions are 64, the subscribers are 37, those signing in their own hand numbering 28.

	Documents exploitable for the research	Documents with aristocrats' subscriptions	Subscriptions	Subscribers	Autograph subscribers
ChLA	187	6	6	3	2
ChLA²	747	51	64	37	28

Regarding the distribution of subscriptions between the two categories of bishops and counts throughout the period under consideration, the situation is as follows:

	No. by category	No. of subscriptions	Autograph subscriptions / subscribers)
counts	13	15	6 (4)
bishops	26	54	54 (26)
other[52]	1	1	0

The subscriptions of 13 counts and 26 bishops are attested, totaling 15 and 54 subscriptions respectively. Of these, those of bishops are all autographs while only 6 subscriptions of counts are autographs: two each for Adalgis I[53] and Leo I[54], counts of Parma and Seprio respectively; 1 by Adelrad count of Siena[55]; 1 by Leo I son's John[56]. This suggests some reflections.

[48] ChLA, XXXVI, nn. 1064 (777 VII 24, *Valeriana*), 1065-1066 (double original, 778 III 16, Lucca).
[49] ChLA, XXXIX, n. 1035 (792 IX 30, Lucca); ChLA, XL, n. 1159 (797 V, Villa Basilica [Pescia]). A subscription of John I was also present in two documents dating 783 I 16, Lucca, now a contemporary copy (ChLA, XXXVII, n. 1085) and 800 VII 27 (ChLA², LXXII, n. 5), respectively. A copy of ChLA, XL, n. 1159 is now ChLA², LXXII, n. 2.
[50] ChLA, XXVII, n. 830 (791 VI 6, Carpeneto).
[51] Volumes L to LIII concern documents preserved and issued in Southern Italy.
[52] Cunegonda, widow of Bernard king of Italy, was included in the census. For this document (ChLA², XCIII, n. 2 [835 VI 16, Parma]), see above § 2.
[53] ChLA², XCIII, n. 2 (835 VI 16, Parma); ChLA², LIV, n. 1 (838 V 1, Ravenna).
[54] ChLA², LXXXVIII, n. 32 (824 XII, Reggio); ChLA², XCIV, n. 29 (834 VIII – 840 VI 20, Milan).
[55] ChLA², XC, n. 5 (833 X, Siena).
[56] ChLA², XCIV, n. 33 (844 IV, Milan), on which see also below. The subscription of Stefanus son of the late Iffo count of Sovana, able to subscribe but not necessarily a count himself, has not been included in the census: ChLA², LXII, n. 16 (833 I [01-27], Frisilone).

First is the level of literacy of the two categories. Judging from the numbers surveyed, one could infer that if counts only rarely signed in their own hand the documents in which they were involved, while bishops always did so, the former were presumably illiterate and the latter in general capable of writing or at least of signing. In this regard, however, it has been noted elsewhere that the absence of an autograph signature does not of itself prove an inability to sign but rather depends on the specific role played in the legal action and the level of solemnity of the document[57], when not on contingent reasons[58]. In the Veronese donation performed in 809/810[59] by the bishop Ratold and the count Hucpald discussed above, only Ratold subscribes in his own hand; the subscription of Oddo count of Mantua in a placitum from 818 is not autograph except for the *signum crucis*[60]. Among the documents of this census, those with counts' subscriptions are mostly *placiti*, presided over by them (9 out of 10); they are followed by 3 donations and an exchange, in which the count is the issuer, and finally by the famous donation of Cunegonda, widow of King Bernard, in which Count Adalgis I serves as witness along with the bishops of Parma and Reggio[61]. Counts' autograph subscriptions are found in 4 *placiti* and 2 donations; in four cases the count has a prominent role (presiding judge, donor), in the remaining two – as well as in the one from 820 – he is a just member of the court or a witness. These are small numbers, from which it does not seem possible to assert a correlation between type of document, role played in the legal action and autograph signature or lack thereof.

A second consideration concerns what seems to be a more extensive participation of bishops, as opposed to counts, in the documentation processes. In this regard, there always remains the doubt that the channels of preservation through which the documentation itself has come down to us may have favoured a greater survival of documents issued by ecclesiastical authorities or in which ecclesiastical authorities were in some way involved, as opposed

[57] Supino Martini, *Le sottoscrizioni testimoniali*, pp. 90, 106 (and Bassetti, Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, p. 287).

[58] In 829 Atto bishop of Novara, after laboriously tracing the *signum crucis* and writing, in an uncertain and disassociated cursive script, «Atto episcopus», yielded his pen to the *scriptor*, who specified: «Atto episcopus qui propter infirmitate manus menime scribere potuit nisi tantum nomen suum scripsit» (ChLA², LVII, n. 1 [829 XII 29, Novara]).

[59] See *supra* note 28.

[60] ChLA², LXXXVIII, n. 31 (818 I 28 – VIII 31, Revere). Both Hucpald and Oddo, along with Ratold, seemed to have signed in their own hands a *placitum* from 820. The original document, «alquanto guasto» already in 1955 according to Manaresi, was examined by Armando Petrucci (Placiti I, n. 31, pp. 95-98 [820 III 31, Pozzuolo sul Mincio]), who identified in the writings of Hucpald and Oddo the earliest appearance of caroline minuscule in the *regnum Italiae* and defined Hucpald's hand «particolarmente sicura», Oddo's one «con qualche impaccio da semialfabeta» (which, however, would allow to rule out the count's illiteracy): Petrucci, Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, p. 211. It was then proved to be a forgery, and so excluded from vol. LXXXVIII of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, on palaeographic, diplomatic and historical grounds: ChLA², LXXXVIII, pp. 8-9, with reference to previous bibliography; Castagnetti, Ciaralli, *Falsari a Nonantola*, particularly pp. 203-216.

[61] See also above, paragraph 2.

to those issued by – or involving the participation of – secular authorities. As a matter of fact, the dossier of documents issued by/to/in name of Count Auteram, now kept in the Chapter Archive of Parma, constitutes a notable exception[62].

What was the graphic culture of these subscribers? To what graphic tradition can it be referred back to? Can it reveal, in its type, style or even just dimensions, an ethnicity, a particular graphic education, a desire for self-representation, a conscious adherence to a specific graphic model? With the exception of the magnificent subscription in capital letters of the archbishop of Ravenna John VIII, issuer of a donation of 852 – a *hapax*, to be in any case evaluated in the light of the Romanistic tradition of the document itself and alongside the curial script used by the *tabellio*[63] – the autograph subscriptions of the counts and bishops, the latter significantly more numerous than those of the former as I said above, are distributed among three different graphic poles.

The first one is the new Roman cursive, which may seem perfectly mastered or, conversely, practiced at an elementary level, and so appear dissociated, free of ligatures and uncertain in *ductus* and alignment, an indisputable sign of unfamiliarity with the writing[64]. Not only does John I bishop of Lucca, also a copyist of books according to Luigi Schiaparelli[65], use a confident and regular cursive script, but his Latin is also uncommonly correct (Fig. 6). His successor Iacobus (*ante* 801-818), one of the most highly-represented among the bishops subscribing to the corpus of documents considered for this research[66], uses a cursive of a fairly good standard, characterized by the large size – a possible sign of a desire for self-representation as much as one of graphic insecurity – and rounded body of letters, but resorts to a more solemn version of this same script, with and elaborated *signum crucis*, elongated ascenders, "crested" *c*, a teardrop-shaped *o*, and original ligatures, for documents of some importance such as the *placitum* from 813, where his name is first declared in an *intitulatio* and he is the first of 42 subscribers (Figg. 7-8)[67]. The successive bishop of Lucca Peter I (*ante* 819-*post* 834) uses a much more basic level of cursive[68], and so does, in 833, the bishop of Siena Anastasius, whose script is very uncertain in the alignment and in the proportions and

[62] ChLA², XCII, nn. 3 (843 VIII 14, Gondreville), 4 (848 V 16), 5 (848 IX 22), 6 (850 [VI 15- IX 23], Sabbione), 7 (851 I 15, Bologna). On Auteram, see above note 18.
[63] ChLA², LV, n. 5 (852, Ravenna).
[64] Petrucci, Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, pp. 25-26.
[65] Schiaparelli, *Il codice 490*, pp. 30-32. For the documents issued and undersigned by John see above, note 49.
[66] ChLA², LXXII, nn. 6 (801 VII, Lucca), 24 (803 VII, Lucca), 33 (805 IX 17, Lucca), 50 (807 II 12, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIII, nn. 22 (808 VIII, Lucca), 23 (808 VIII, Lucca), 37 (810 XI 3, Lucca), 50 (813 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, nn. 6 (814 IV 20, Lucca), 23 (816 IX 3, Lucca), 28 (817 VIII 12, Lucca), 30 (818 III 10, Lucca), 34 (818 VII 18, Lucca; copy).
[67] ChLA², LXXIII, n. 50 (813 IV, Lucca).
[68] ChLA², LVIII, n. 14 (827 IX 1 – 828 VIII 31, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 40 (819 VI 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 7 (821 X 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 28 (831 II 1, Lucca).

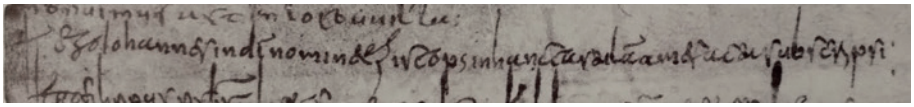

Fig. 6. ChLA2, XL, n. 1159 (797 V, Villa Basilica).

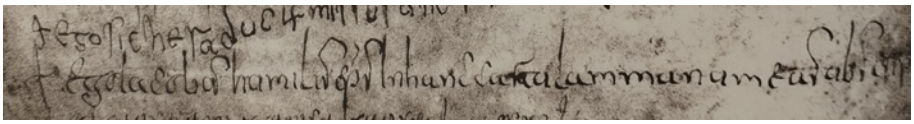

Fig. 7. ChLA2, LXXIII, n. 22 (808 VIII, Lucca).

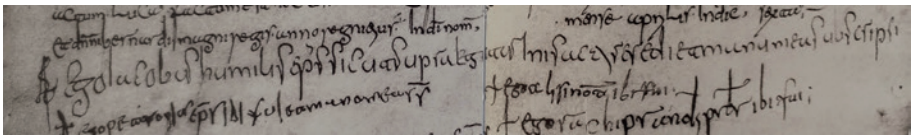

Fig. 8. ChLA2, LXXIII, n. 50 (813 IV, Lucca).

size of the letters, all separated from each other as well as in their tracing and form (omega-shaped *a*, uncial *G*, *t* with an unnaturally upward stroke)[69] (Fig. 9). As for the bishop of Novara Atto, who merely writes his own name and title, the uncertainty is probably due to his declared infirmity rather than to graphic inexperience[70].

In numerous cases, the adherence to chancery models is open: the script is enriched with elongated and ascenders and descenders, a general lateral compression, high and "crested" *c*s, teardrop-shaped *o*s, complicated bridge or loop ligatures, and sometimes specific features of the Merovingian documentary writing. This is the case of the subscriptions of Count Leo I to two *placiti* of 824 and 834, already the subject of Antonio Ciaralli's investigations, and of Adalgis I count of Parma to two other *placiti* of 835 and 838[71]. Both counts use a cursive writing with an adherence to the Merovingian chancery scripts, which is particularly evident in Adalgis's windling ascenders and in the *c*s beginning with a loop, and in Leo's *a* of «concordans» elevated above the baseline and rotated 45° to tie with the following *n* (Figg. 10-11). Not surprisingly, it is also the case of Witgar, bishop of Turin (*ante* 832-*post* 838) and previously Lothar's chancellor, in memory of which he kept also using the *signum recognitionis* with Tironian notes[72].

Many other bishops opted for a script with chancery features, whether they were experienced writers or let slip uncertainties in the use of writing:

[69] ChLA², XC, n. 5 (833 X, Siena).
[70] See above, note 58.
[71] For a reference to the editions see above notes 53 and 54.
[72] ChLA², LIV, n. 1 (838 V 1, Ravenna).

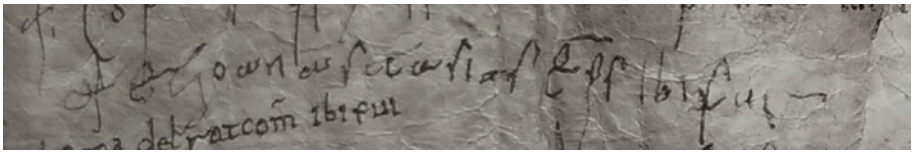

Fig. 9. ChLA2, XC, n. 5 (833 X, Siena).

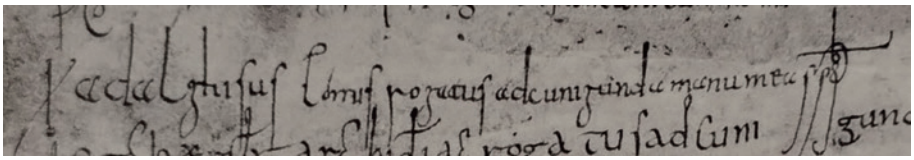

Fig. 10. ChLA2, LIV, n. 1 (838 V 1, Ravenna).

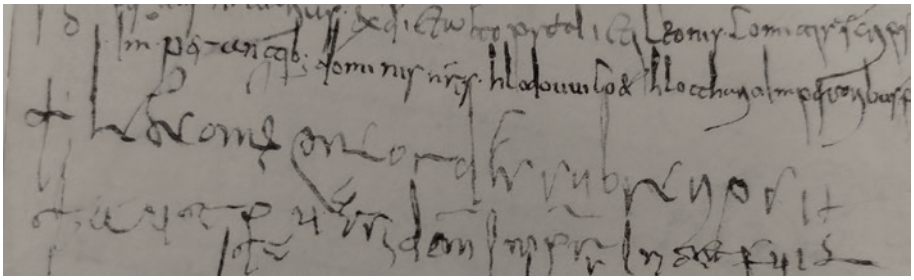

Fig. 11. ChLA2, XCIV, n. 29 (834 VIII – 840 VI 20, Milan).

Peredeus, the first of the bishops of Lucca appearing in this *corpus*, quite insecure in his attempts artificially to prolong the ascenders or execute cursive ligatures as *Eg* in «Ego» or between the two strokes of *x* (Fig. 12)[73]; the archbishop of Milan Odilbert (803-813) in a document from 806 in the form of a precept, with the *l*s terminating with an horizontal stroke on the baseline and cusp-shaped bowls of *ps*[74]; the bishop of Luni Peter (816?-826?), in a fascinating though uncertain script, rich in not-well-mastered ligatures, among which the elaborate *crip* in the amazing «SUSCRIPSI» written in large form and partially capital letters (Fig. 13)[75]; and finally, Seufredus, bishop of Piacenza (839?-870?), with his unusual abbreviations (see *-d(us)*) and contrast between small bowls and long ascenders and descenders[76].

[73] See above note 48.
[74] ChLA², XCIV, n. 3 (806 I). Another Odilbert's subscription, still as a subdeacon of the Milanese Church, is found in a document of 777 and shows the same features as well as the Merovingian *a* written above the baseline and rotated 45°: ChLA, XXVIII, n. 855 (777 III 8, Milan).
[75] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 24 (816 IX, Luni).
[76] ChLA², LXVIII, n. 38 (853 V, Piacenza); a second document with Seufredus' subscription is ChLA², CXVII, n. 23 (851-866).

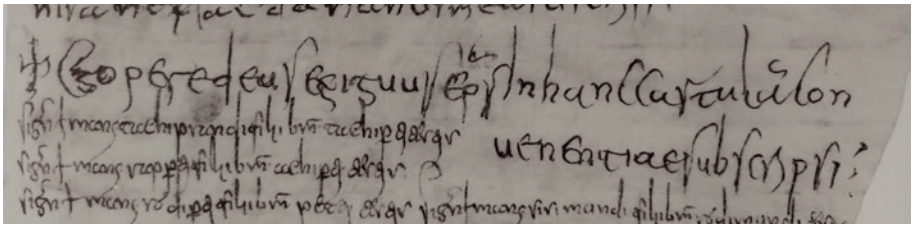

Fig. 12. ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1064 (777 VII 24, Valeriana).

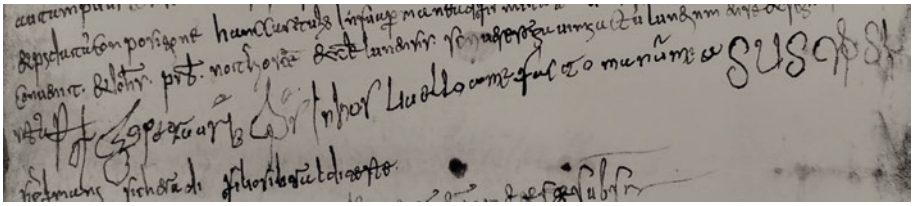

Fig. 13. ChLA2, LXXIV, n. 24 (816 IX, Luni).

Finally, the other graphic pole is that of the caroline minuscule, not without relapses into the cursive graphic tradition even by those who, from some time on, seem to know it well or at least want to adopt it. According to Armando Petrucci, it was the aristocrats themselves who were the first in the *regnum* to use scripts referring to this new reformed writing[77]. As a working hypothesis, we can define a subscription in caroline minuscule when not only the letters are detached from each other and the common ligatures of the cursive script are avoided, but also at least the *a*s, *g*s and *n*s have the morphology that will form the canon of this script, i.e. the uncial shape for *a*, the closed upper bowl for *g*, the minuscule form for *n*. In that sense, the subscription of the Alamannic bishop of Verona Ratold, in the above-discussed donation from 809/810, shows the features of a caroline minuscule quite precociously practiced, though at a very elementary level: the tracing of the letters appears very insecure, but *a* is caroline in its morphology and so is *g*, the upper bowl of which tries to be closed. As it is the only Ratold's surviving subscription[78], one cannot not ascribe these elements to an early attempt to practice a new type of script – meanwhile, however, the *t* has a loop on the left as in the cursive-based scripts – or, more plausibly, to general poor writing skills (Fig. 5).

We have to wait until the 830s to find more aristocrats' subscriptions in caroline minuscule. A *placitum* held in Siena in 833 was signed by three bishops and one count: apart from the bishop of Siena Anastasius, whose inexperienced cursive script was discussed above, the two presiding judges Agiprand

[77] Petrucci, Romeo, «*Scriptores in urbibus*», p. 211.
[78] See above, note 70.

bishop of Florence (823-*post* 833) and Peter II bishop of Volterra (823-845) make an evident effort to make their writing free of ligatures and to use the letters from the caroline minuscule (*a*, *g*, *n*), but these seem to be grafted onto a graphic education based on other models, as evidenced by the many cursive ligatures, including the alamannic *nt* of Agiprand, found in the subscriptions of both. On his part, the count of Siena Adelrad seems to practice a "pure", however uncertain, caroline minuscule (Fig. 9)[79].

At the end of the decade the number of subscriptions in caroline minuscule increases: disregarding an *ri*-ligature at the very end, that of the bishop and pontifical legate Theodore is entirely in caroline[80], and so are the ones by the bishop of Lucca Berengar I (837-*post* 843), with some chancery features[81], Rodingus bishop of Florence (840?-852)[82], Peter I bishop of Arezzo (828-845)[83]. It is worth noting that at least Berengar among them is allegedly of Frankish nationality[84]. His successors Ambrose (843-852)[85] and Jeremiah (852-867)[86] also write in caroline minuscule, but the high loop of *e*s, half-uncial *g*, long *I*s, upward flagging *r* and *ep* ligature in the former and the open *a*s and "crested" *c*s in the latter, along with the Tironian note at the end, betray a graphic education that must have had its roots elsewhere (Fig. 14-15).

A similar case was that of John, the son of Count Leo I of Seprio, as Ciaralli pointed out. In subscribing to a Milanese *placitum* in 844, he uses a script decidedly less well defined than his father's, in which various elements are mixed: cursive, such as the *esc* ligature (similar to his father's *eoc* one), pre-caroline, such as the half-uncial *g* of «Ego» and the upward flagging *r*, but also caroline minuscule, such as the general separation of the words and the morphology of the *a*, which however does not yet appear to be spontaneously traced. As Ciaralli has noted, this is a writing – and thus a graphic education of the writer – based on the new Roman cursive, into which elements of the new graphic tradition are inserted, seeming more "picked up" than dominated[87].

[79] ChLA², XC, n. 5 (833 X, Siena). According to Petrucci, the writing of Agiprand is «una pura ed elegante carolina posata», that of Peter a «semicorsiva sostanzialmente altomedievale», and Adelrad writes «elegantemente» (Petrucci, Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus»*, pp. 216 and 211 respectively).
[80] For references see above, note 72.
[81] ChLA², LXXVII, nn. 18 (838 XII 16, Lucca), 26 (839 VI 14, Lucca), 38 (840 III 24, Lucca).
[82] ChLA², LXXVII, n. 35 (840 II, Lucca),
[83] ChLA², XC, n. 8 (835 X 6 – 843 VIII 29).
[84] Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*, p. 230; Bassetti, Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, p. 308; Tomei, *Writing*, pp. 160, 163.
[85] ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21 (844 I, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, nn. 6 (846 IV 1, Lucca), 17 (847 V 6, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 5 (850 VI 22, Lucca).
[86] ChLA², LXXX, n. 45 (855 IV 15, Lucca).
[87] ChLA², XCIV, n. 33 (844 IV, Milan). Ciaralli, *Osservazioni paleografiche*, pp. 143-145; Bassetti, Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, pp. 309-310.

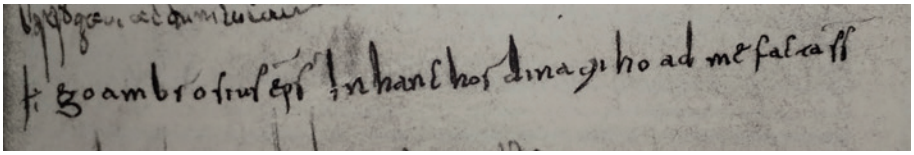

Fig. 14. ChLA2, LXXIX, n. 17 (847 V 6, Lucca).

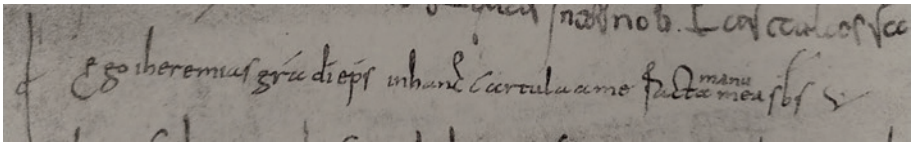

Fig. 15. ChLA2, LXXX, n. 45 (855 IV 15, Lucca).

4. *Conclusions*

The census of aristocrats' subscriptions carried out as a part of this research has made it possible to collect a decidedly scarce number of examples of counts' signatures, and just an adequate number of bishops' signatures. The bishops' always autograph subscriptions allow us to know better their graphic culture. In this sense, the rich documentation from Lucca offers a privileged perspective of observation, for we have at least one – and in several cases more than one – autograph subscription of the entire series of bishops from the last quarter of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth. On the other hand, the scarcity of documentation bearing counts' either autograph or non-autograph subscriptions seems to suggest their limited participation in documentation processes, due to – as shown in the first part of this essay – a lack of interest in forms of self-representation, as opposed to the bishops' and their group's investment in this. In any case, the possibility of the bias related to the channels by which the documentation itself has been preserved remains.

However, the presence, both in the few counts' autograph subscriptions and in many of the bishops' ones, of chancery features inserted into a cursive or caroline script, when not of an adherence *tout-court* to chancery writing models such as the Merovingian, suggests a desire to solemnize the document while emphasizing the role and personality of the subscriber. As for the caroline minuscule, its use among the aristocrats seems to settle in – or is at least well documented – from the fourth decade of the ninth century onwards, and to be linked, when not to a generational change (whereby the writer practices it as the main if not the only writing model he has learned), to a willingness to adopt or imitate what was evidently spreading as the common writing model and therefore also to a precise political-cultural programme.

Works cited

S. Airlie, *Semper fideles? Loyauté envers les carolingiens comme constituant de l'identité aristocratique*, in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX^e^ aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan, Lille 1998, pp. 129-143.

S. Airlie, *The Aristocracy*, in *The new Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, *c. 700-c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, pp. 431-450.

M. Baitieri, *Politics and documentary culture: the bishops of North-Western Italy during the post-Carolingian period (c. 888-962)*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 2020.

A. Bartoli Langeli, *Notai. Scrivere documenti nell'Italia medievale*, Roma 2006.

M. Bassetti, A. Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, in *Il patrimonio documentario della chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca*, ed. S. Pagano, P. Piatti, Firenze 2010, pp. 285-311.

F. Bougard, Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio*: L'échange dans l'Italie des VIII^e^-XI^e^ siècles*, in *Tauschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert - L'acte d'échange du VIII^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, ed. I. Fees, P. Depreux, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2013, pp. 65-98.

F. Bougard, G. Bührer-Thierry, R. Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge. Identités, stratégies, mobilité*, in «Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales», 68 (2013), 4, pp. 1079-1112.

F. Bougard, *Notaires d'élite, notaires de l'élite dans le royaume d'Italie*, in *La culture du haut Moyen Âge. Une question d'élites?*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jean, R. McKitterick, Turnhout 2009 (Haut Moyen Âge, 7), pp. 439-460.

C. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium regis. Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Köln 1968.

M. Calleri, *L'atto di fondazione della Canonica di Arezzo: un falso "sine malo dolo"*, in *Secoli XI e XII: L'invenzione della memoria*. Atti del Seminario Internazionale (Montepulciano, 27-29 aprile 2006), ed. S. Allegria, F. Cenni, Montepulciano 2006, pp. 89-102.

C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, *Documentazione scritta e preminenza sociale*, in *La nobiltà romana nel Medioevo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Roma, 20-22 novembre 2003), ed. S. Carocci, Roma 2006, pp. 323-343.

Le carte antiche di S. Pietro in Castello di Verona (809/10-1196), ed. A. Ciaralli, Roma 2007.

A. Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della Langobardia nelle città e nei territori rurali*, in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali*, Spoleto 2009, pp. 539-619.

A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, *Falsari a Nonantola. I placiti di Ostiglia (820-827) e le donazioni di Nogara (910-911)*, Spoleto 2012.

A. Ciaralli, *Osservazioni paleografiche sulle scritture del conte Leone e dei suoi figli*, in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti*, vol. 2, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2007, pp. 127-149.

Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France, ed. C. Giraud, J.-B. Renault, B.-M. Tock, Nancy-Orléans 2010.

R. Cimino, *Il patrimonio di Angelberga e la sua dislocazione territoriale*, in *Nuove frontiere per la storia di genere*, vol. 2, ed. L. Guidi, M.R. Pellizzari, Salerno 2013, pp. 105-110.

S. Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura nella Tuscia dei secoli IX-XI*, in «Scrittura e civiltà», 18 (1994), pp. 23-51.

G. De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere: scrittura, documentazione, politica a Bergamo nei secoli IX-XII*, Milano 2009.

G. De Angelis, *Scabini e altri ufficiali pubblici minori in Lombardia in età carolingia e postcarolingia. Profili, mobilità, culture grafiche, partecipazione ai processi documentari*, in «Scrineum Rivista», 16 (2020), pp. 57–114. < https://doi.org/10.13128/scrineum-10889 >.

G.G. Fissore, *I documenti cancellereschi degli episcopati subalpini: un'area di autonomia culturale fra la tradizione delle grandi cancellerie e la prassi notarile*, in *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. C. Haidacher, W. Köfler, Innsbruck 1995, pp. 281-304.

G.G. Fissore, *Problemi della documentazione vescovile astigiana*, in *La memoria delle chiese. Cancellerie vescovili e culture notarili nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli X-XIII)*, Torino 1995, pp. 41-94.

A. Ghignoli, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e documentazione nei secoli VIII-XI. Appunti per una prospettiva*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 162 (2004), pp. 619-666.

E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962)*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960.

W. Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.-11. Jahrhundert)*, Hannover 2003 (MGH, Schriften, 52).
J. Jarnut, *Bergamo, 568-1098. Verfassungs-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte einer lombardischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1979.
C. La Rocca, *Les cadeaux nuptiaux de la famille royale en Italie*, in *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Rome 2002, pp. 499-526.
E. Manarini, *Politiche regie e conflitti nell'Emilia orientale: la fisionomia del fisco regio, San Silvestro di Nonantola e le lotte per il regno dopo l'875*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 121-156 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/6077 >.
E. Manarini, *Sex, Denigration and Violence. A Representation of Political Competition between Two Aristocratic Families in Ninth Century Italy*, in *Conflict and Violence in Medieval Italy, 568-1154*, ed. C. Heath, R. Houghton, Amsterdam 2022, pp. 205-242.
C. Mantegna, *Il documento privato tra regnum Italiae e oltralpe (secoli VIII ex. - X)*, in *Le Alpi porta d'Europa. Scritture, uomini, idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Cividale del Friuli, 5-7 ottobre 2006), ed. L. Pani, C. Scalon, Spoleto 2009, pp. 111-140.
A. Mastruzzo, *Una littera formata*, in «Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia», s. III, 25/4 (1995), pp. 1437-1458.
A. Mastruzzo, G.E. Unfer Verre, *Pubblici uffici e competenze grafiche nell'età carolingia: una relazione biunivoca? Il caso di Lucca*, in «Scrineum Rivista», 17/2 (2021), pp. 107-145 < https://doi.org/10.13128/scrineum-1138 >.
M. Mersiowsky, *Towards a reappraisal of Carolingian sovereign charters*, in *Charters and the use of the written word in Medieval Society*, ed. K.J. Heidecker, Turnhout 2000, pp. 15-25.
G. Nicolaj, *Note di diplomatica vescovile italiana (secc. VIII-XIII)*, in *Die Diplomatik der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250,* ed. C. Haidacher, W. Köfler, Innsbruck 1995, pp. 377-392 (repr. in G. Nicolaj, *Storie di documenti, storie di libri: quarant'anni di studi, ricerche e vagabondaggi nell'età antica e medievale*, ed. C. Mantegna, Dietikon-Zürich 2013, pp. 46-59).
A. Petrucci, *Libro, scrittura e scuola*, in *La scuola nell'Occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1972, pp. 313-337, tavv. I-VI.
A. Petrucci, C. Romeo, *«Scriptores in urbibus». Alfabetismo e cultura scritta nell'Italia altomedievale*, Bologna 1992.
A. Petrucci, C. Romeo, *Scrivere in "iudicio". Modi, soggetti e funzioni di scrittura nei placiti del "Regnum Italiae" (secc. IX-XI)*, in «Scrittura e civiltà», 13 (1989), pp. 5-48.
L. Schiaparelli, *Il codice 490 della Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca e la scuola scrittoria lucchese (secc. VIII-IX)*, Roma 1924 (Studi e testi, 36).
E.M. Screen, *The importance of the emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish civil war, 840-843*, in «Early Medieval Europe», 12 (2003), pp. 25-52.
P. Supino Martini, *Le sottoscrizioni testimoniali al documento italiano del secolo VIII: le carte di Lucca*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 98 (1992), pp. 87-108.
G. Tabacco, *La sintesi istituzionale di vescovo e città in Italia*, in G. Tabacco, *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel medioevo italiano*, Torino 1979, pp. 397-427.
P. Tomei, *Una nuova categoria documentaria nella Toscana marchionale: la donazione in forma di mandato*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 99 (2019), pp. 114-149 < doi 10.1515/qfiab-2019-0008 >.
P. Tomei, *Writing, Textuality, Politics in the Lucca of Bishops Berengar and Ambrose (837-852)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022, pp. 157-180 < doi 10.36253/978-88-5518-623-0.09 >.
G. Vismara, *Ricerche sulla permuta nell'alto medioevo*, in G. Vismara, *Scritti di storia giuridica*, vol. 2, *La vita del diritto negli atti privati medievali*, Milano 1987, pp. 79-141.

Gianmarco De Angelis
University of Padua (Italy)
gianmarco.deangelis@unipd.it
0000-0002-1668-4510

Laura Pani
University of Udine (Italy)
laura.pani@uniud.it
0000-0002-5364-1392

Monasteries in the middle? Local elites and monastic landscapes in Carolingian Lombardy*

by Francesco Veronese

Whereas recent research on monasteries, their properties, and their social networks in Carolingian Italy mostly focused on some very rich and well-documented institutions, the available charters offer glimpses of a much richer monastic landscape. A number of local monasteries of very different condition in terms of political, social and economic power punctuated this landscape as players in the networks of relationships and power balances running through it. Though sparse and frequently scarce, the sources allow to a certain extent to appreciate their presence and activities and the development of their patrimonies and social positioning over time. Resuming a recent definition formulated by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn for local priests as "men in the middle", this paper provides a definition for these institutions as "monasteries in the middle", thus highlighting their role and functions as intermediaries between different social players and groups. The examination of three case-studies located in Carolingian Lombardy on the grounds of the ninth century evidence provides an initial framework for testing the suitability of this definition, as well as the opportunities it opens for better appreciating and understanding the complexity of the local contexts in which these monasteries operated.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Lombardy; Milan; Pavia; Brescia; monasteries; social networks; charters.

* I am deeply grateful to Cristina La Rocca, Annamaria Pazienza, Igor Santos Salazar, Leonardo Sernagiotto, Manuel Fauliri, and Gianmarco De Angelis for suggestions and observations on previous drafts of this paper.

Francesco Veronese, University of Padua, Italy, francesco.veronese.3@unipd.it, 0000-0002-2189-1485

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Francesco Veronese, *Monasteries in the middle? Local elites and monastic landscapes in Carolingian Lombardy*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.07, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 95-118, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

CDL = *Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae*, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, Torino 1873 (Historia patriae monumenta, 13).

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², XCIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIV, Italy LXVI, Milano 1, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², XCV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCV, Italy LXVII, Milano 2, publ. A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2016.

ChLA², XCIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIX, Italy LXXI, Brescia, Cremona, Udine, Venezia, publ. C. Mantegna, L. Pani, G. De Angelis, Dietikon-Zürich 2018.

MGH, Conc. II = *Concilia aevi Karolini,* 2 vol., ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover-Leipzig 1906-1908 (MGH, Conc., 2).

MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).

MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).

1. *Introduction: monasteries in the middle?*

Recent research on the monastic landscape of Carolingian Italy has focused especially on a few key religious institutions, like Nonantola, S. Salvatore in Brescia, and St. Ambrose of Milan[1]. These monasteries are those best provided with both written and material evidence for the ninth century[2]. Their role in the Italian kingdom's political, economical and social networks was decisive, and is reflected in the richness of both their landed wealth and of their archives. Yet at a closer inspection their charters provide glimpses of a richer and more complex picture. A number of religious institutions spread across the areas where these monasteries held lands are mentioned as being involved in their transactions, as owners of neighbouring lands, or as their dependencies. The purpose of this paper is to highlight some features of this densely populated monastic landscape. I will first provide the methodological starting points for my survey. Then three case-studies will be analyzed. All of them take into account urban institutions located in Lombardy, a region that François Bougard has labelled as the *ventre mou* of the kingdom, where the interactions between monasteries and a range of other social players can be clearly appreciated[3]. The role of these communities in

[1] Just a few recent examples: *Dalla corte regia al monastero*, ed. Brogiolo; De Rubeis, *San Salvatore di Brescia*; Pazienza, West-Harling, *Networking Nuns*; Manarini, *Politiche regie e conflitti*; Santos Salazar, *Fiscal Lands, Rural Communities*; Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*.

[2] See for instance the recent edition of the charters of San Salvatore by Gianmarco Cossandi: *Le carte del monastero*. Also see *Nonantola 6*, ed. Gelichi, Librenti, Cianciosi.

[3] Bougard, *Du centre à la périphérie*. He formulated this definition for the late ninth early tenth century, but it also seems applicable to Lothar's age.

the networks in which they were included will be analyzed by the means of the charter evidence, that is, mostly through the perspective of their economical transactions. The timespan I consider follows the mentions of these monasteries in the sources of the Carolingian period, thus roughly covering the whole ninth century.

The theoretical framework for my investigation is grounded in a twofold premise. In a recently edited volume on early medieval priests, Carine van Rhijn and Steffen Patzold developed for these figures the definition of "men in the middle"[4]. Van Rhijn and Patzold underscored that especially in Carolingian times priests were «actively shaped as the ideal, literate, educated, intermediaries between the court and the episcopate, on the one hand, and the people of the Franks, on the other», and that they «fulfilled various functions within their lay communities, many of those as intermediaries»[5]. Thus in their definition of early medieval priests, Patzold and van Rhijn emphasized their functions as intermediaries between different social groups. Something similar can be said for the monastic institutions I will discuss here. That is the reason why, in my view, they can be profitably seen as "monasteries in the middle". Their "middleness" was the result of different conditions, that need to be assessed case by case. These institutions operated as intermediaries between different levels of society and as nodes in the networks of which they were a part. They were in the middle also for their positioning in the social hierarchies. As the cases studied here will show, their social connections allowed them to get in touch with the higher echelons of Carolingian Italy's society, and sometimes to the royal authorities themselves, but they extended also downwards on the social ladder. Local landowners looked forward to establishing connections with these institutions in order to acquire status and move up socially. Therefore, the monasteries in the middle, like the men in the middle, established channels of communication that connected elites and non – or lesser – elites.

This is where my second theoretical premise comes to the fore. In the process of identification of the "monasteries in the middle", the geographical scale of each institution's actions had been crucial. While institutions such as St. Ambrose, S. Salvatore of Brescia and Nonantola developed amounts of landed wealth stretching kingdom-wide, the monasteries I focused on worked on a local level, usually limited to the territory of their dioceses. So, my idea of monasteries in the middle finds support in the distinction among different levels of elite groups drawn by Simone Collavini in a contribution of 2007[6]. The third level he identified, that of the "diocesan" elites, was characterized in his eyes by «le dimensioni relativamente ridotte dei patrimoni, limitati di solito a un solo territorio comitale / diocesano (o al massi-

[4] *Men in the Middle*, ed. Patzold, van Rhijn.
[5] Patzold, van Rhijn, *Introduction*, pp. 1-2.
[6] Collavini, *Spazi politici*.

mo ad aree di confine tra più comitati), la residenza urbana, (...) l'assoluta egemonia informale sulla società cittadina»[7]. The monasteries I will discuss equally featured these traits. They were urban institutions, deeply embedded in their local contexts, while the extension of their landed wealth did not stretch beyond that of their bishoprics. In Collavini's model, the diocesan elites were in the middle between the elite kin groups whose fortunes and offices extended to a regional level, right below the *Reichsadel*; and the local elites «che dominano, variamente connesse con le altre *élites*, società di villaggio o centri diocesani dall'incerto profilo urbano»[8]. Such a positioning in the social landscape, together with an intermediary role between different social levels, provides the key grounds for my definition of the monasteries in the middle.

2. *Can a monastery protected by kings be in the middle? Lothar I, Pavia and S. Maria Teodote*

Scholars have underlined that, in Lombard times, the monastic landscape in Pavia was dominated by female communities, and that their presence offered spaces of political action to Lombard queens especially[9]. Far from removing these possibilities, the Carolingians connected the queens' role in managing religious institutions to the definitions of the ruler's wives as *consortes regni* developed in the first half of the ninth century[10]. Monasteries and their landed wealth were included in the patrimonies granted to the queens in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Italy, thus contributing to the shaping of these women's responsibilities as administrators of public resources[11]. Among the dependencies of S. Salvatore of Brescia granted in usufruct by Lothar I to his daughter Gisla in 851, a «monasterium in Papia qui vocatur Regine», established by the last Lombard royal couple Desiderius and Ansa, was also included[12]. As Cristina La Rocca underlined, the monastery's title connected it to the queen as an institutional role, not to a specific queenly figure[13]. So, it comes as a surprise that neither this monastery nor another female community possibly established by the royal authority, S. Agata, obtained charters from Lothar or any other previous Carolingian ruler of the Italian kingdom – or at least no such document has come to us. The only monastic institution in Pavia that repeatedly received grants by Lothar was

[7] *Ibidem*, pp. 321-322.
[8] *Ibidem*, p. 322.
[9] Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili*; La Rocca, *Monachesimo femminile*, pp. 122-126; Settia, *Pavia carolingia*, pp. 146-149.
[10] Delogu, *"Consors regni"*; Erkens, *"Sicut Esther regina"*; Tondini, *"Consors regni"*.
[11] See the contributions collected in *Il patrimonio delle regine*, ed. Lazzari.
[12] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 115, pp. 265-266 (851 IX 8, Gondreville), at p. 266. Also see Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili*, p. 313; Rotili, *Testimonianze monumentali*, p. 76.
[13] La Rocca, *Monachesimo femminile*, p. 129.

S. Maria Teodote[14]. Between 833 and 841, a crucial period of conflicts within the Carolingian family, this monastery obtained four royal charters, all addressed to the Abbess Asia[15]. The four charters actually represent the only sources that we have for the community, its abbesses, and the monastery's estates for this period. Nonetheless this limited dossier is helpful to assess to what extent an institution so closely connected to Carolingian power can be seen as a monastery in the middle.

The first grant to S. Maria Teodote is dated to April 833, a few months before the rebellion of Louis the Pious's sons against their father[16]. Asia obtained for her monastery the king's immunity and protection and exemption from the payment of tax revenues on its lands. This was a meaningful act for many reasons. A direct connection was established between the Carolingian rulers in Italy and a monastery that according to Paul the Deacon had been founded by a Lombard king, Cunincpert[17]. Other hints point to a private initiative, and the version of the foundation reported in the *History of the Lombards* sounds legendary, but it shows that by the late 8th century a royal identity had been developed for S. Maria Teodote[18]. The grant of immunity of 833 was the only one, as far as we know, issued by Lothar for a female community[19]. Asia was therefore the only abbess who was able to have her institution included among those protected by the Carolingian power in Italy. To be sure, the ruler was more accessible in Pavia than elsewhere, but the location of the monastery in the former Lombard capital could be as much an issue as it was an opportunity. It has been argued that Pavia and its religious institutions suffered a sort of punishment for the resistance that the city opposed to Charlemagne in 773-774[20]. As a result, they were excluded from royal munificence. As Leonardo Sernagiotto underlined, Lothar developed a new attitude toward the capital of the kingdom, probably in the attempt to reproduce in the Po Valley the model of his grandfather's capital, Aachen[21]. Asia was ready to grasp this chance.

In his royal charter of 833 Lothar also appointed a supervisor (*inspector*), the *venerabilis abbas* Gisleram, entrusted with the duty to watch over the respect of saint Benedict's rule by the nuns. The imposition of an external supervisor could possibly show Lothar's lack of trust in the nuns' behaviour, but there is the possibility that Asia was not so upset by his decision. The MGH editors of Lothar's charters argued for the identification of Gisleram

[14] See Peroni, *Il monastero altomedievale*, though especially focusing on the monastery's material structures.
[15] For an overview on these years see de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 46-58.
[16] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 12, pp. 76-78 (833 IV 17, Pavia).
[17] MGH, *Pauli Historia Langobardorum*, V, 37, p. 157.
[18] Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili*, p. 303.
[19] On Lothar's Italian charters see Screen, *Lothar I in Italy*.
[20] Settia, *Pavia carolingia*; Majocchi, *Pavia città regia*, pp. 39-44; Vocino, *Hagiography as an Instrument*, p. 171.
[21] Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni.

with the Gisleran *eruditissimus et prudentissimus abbas* acting as a *missus* in 837 together with another abbot, Prando[22]. The two abbots were called to be members in a committee investigating the possessions of S. Salvatore of Brescia[23]. This identification looks plausible. Gisleram/Gisleran and Prando were considered by Lothar as trustworthy figures, especially skilled in dealing with female monasteries and their needs. Being in touch with them, even though as objects of their moral supervision, meant to be ranked among the institutions that the ruler took care of.

In another charter issued by Lothar in Pavia in June 834, S. Maria Teodote was granted the rights of collecting timber in *Carbonaria* and free fishing in the Po and Ticino rivers[24]. These privileges were meant to compensate for «fragilitatem sexus Asiae abbatissae et deo famulantium feminarum in monasterio Deodotae»[25]. The idea of the *fragilitas sexus*, the nuns belonging to the "weaker sex", finds no other parallels in Lothar's documents, but had a long tradition since Antiquity as a juridical and rhetorical device to assess male authority over women[26]. In 6th century Byzantine Italy, as Cristina La Rocca has highlighted, it was used by women in judicial contexts as a way to claim public protection over their properties[27]. The emphasis on a condition of subordination as inherently connected to her and her nuns gender identity could be equally part of the toolkit deployed by Asia for supporting her requests to the ruler. But there is also the possibility that Lothar himself chose to underline this motivation. In the summer of 834, when Lothar conquered Chalon-sur-Saône in the final stage of his revolt, he had the sister of Bernard of Septimania, Gerberga, accused of sorcery, and executed, enclosed in a barrel and drowned in the river[28]. Gerberga's death was criticized by contemporary sources as the *nec plus ultra* embodiment of the cruelty shown by Lothar and his wicked supporters[29]. Lothar probably acted on the grounds of accusations of adultery, incest, abortion and/or infanticide against Gerberga, as this kind of execution suggests[30]. So, in those months he experienced serious issues with female crimes and women's *fragilitas sexus*, and he might have chosen to support his acts by recurring to this rhetorical theme.

[22] The two figures were recorded under the same item in the index of the MGH edition, p. 504.
[23] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 35, pp. 112-115 (837 XII 15, Marengo). Also see Lazzari, *Una mamma carolingia*, pp. 49-50; Pazienza, West-Harling, *Networking Nuns*. A *Gisleramnus abbas*, immediately following a *Uuala abbas*, also appears in the *liber memorialis* of S. Salvatore: see *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex*, p. 168 (my thanks to Leonardo Sernagiotto for driving my attention to this).
[24] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 22, pp. 91-93 (834 VI 25, Pavia).
[25] *Ibidem*, p. 92.
[26] Beaucamp, *Le vocabulaire de la faiblesse*; Graziosi, *"Fragilitas sexus"*, pp. 22-25.
[27] La Rocca, *Ritornare fragili*.
[28] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 200-201; Booker, *Past Convictions*, pp. 152-153.
[29] Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni, pp. 425-427; Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, pp. 143-144.
[30] See for instance the episodes from the works of Gregory of Tours discussed by Mistry, *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 85-92.

Royal grants to the monastery were increased in May 839, when Lothar assigned to S. Maria Teodote a piece of land close to Pavia's walls[31]. The charter draws the boundaries and specifies the neighbours of the granted land. A part of its borders was identified in the form of properties and buildings already belonging to the monastery, a tower and an oratory. The remaining neighbours were the public road (i.e. the royal fisc), the city gate *qui dicitur Marenca* and another female monastery, S. Maria del Senatore, established in Lombard times as a private institution[32]. These borders attest to the physical proximity between the lands of different monastic institutions in the urban landscape of Pavia, especially in the south-western part of the city[33]. Most importantly, the charter provides evidence of the ongoing support that S. Maria Teodote enjoyed from Lothar. Other religious institutions of Pavia, like S. Maria del Senatore, were apparently denied such a relationship, as no royal charter in their favour survives. Yet this document warns us not to assume royal charters as a direct reflection of intimacy to the ruler. In the following part of the text an exchange of lands between Asia and Theutberga, abbess of the monastery of S. Agata, was acknowledged and confirmed[34]. The exchange, the precise terms of which were not reported, was considered "equal" and "reasonable" by Lothar and had been agreed upon *nostra auctoritate*, by the order of the king. The monastery of S. Agata had been established by the Lombard king Perctarit and remained a royal possession in Carolingian times[35]. Yet no royal charters for S. Agata survive. Could it be that, since its connection to the ruler was institutionally sanctioned, there was no need for royal charters? Communication between the court and royal monasteries may not necessarily involve the production of charters. In the case of S. Agata, documentary silence may not be a sign of the monastery's inability to approach the king[36]. The difference between S. Agata, a royal monastery, and S. Maria del Senatore, private and equally lacking royal charters, lies in their juridical condition. The diploma of 839 for S. Maria Teodote is the piece of evidence that allows us to operate distinctions in the status of different female monasteries in Carolingian Pavia. Despite the narrative of its royal foundation, S. Maria Teodote needed to obtain royal protection formally. This monastery also appears to have been somewhere in the middle between a public and a private status.

Thanks to Asia's efforts, S. Maria Teodote was included in a network of high-ranking figures connected to the court. The abbot Gisleram mentioned above was one of them. The charter of 839 once again recalled the practice of

[31] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 38, pp. 117-119 (839 V 6, Pavia).
[32] Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili*, p. 309.
[33] *Ibidem*, p. 302.
[34] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 38, p. 119.
[35] La Rocca, *Monachesimo femminile*, p. 123; Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili*, pp. 298-300; Majocchi, *Sviluppo e affermazione di una capitale*, p. 175; Majocchi, *Pavia città regia*, pp. 55-56.
[36] Similar considerations have been recently proposed by Pazienza, *Le donne di San Ciriaco*.

the Rule of Benedict in S. Maria Teodote, probably a reference to the role of Gisleram as *inspector*. In the fourth royal charter addressed to the monastery, issued in July 841, its inclusion in these networks was improved[37]. On that occasion Asia obtained from the king the appointment of two *tutores* with the duty to conduct an inquiry on the land patrimony of S. Maria Teodote, probably on the model of the one held in 837 for S. Salvatore of Brescia. Asia had denounced illegal subtractions by *pravi* and *invasores homines*. The *tutores* appointed by Lothar were the *comites* Leo and John, father and son, two figures very well known to scholars[38]. Even though they didn't belong to the empire's top-level aristocracies, Leo and John experienced a quick rise as public officials in Lothar's service[39]. On many occasions they were appointed with the task of investigating disputes involving key religious institutions of Carolingian Italy, such as St. Ambrose of Milan and Bobbio. The *advocatio* of 841 was one of the first tasks which they were on called to handle together. It was therefore a relevant turning point in their careers, as a confirmation of Leo's position and its transmission to his son. John consolidated his father's achievements in the last years of Lothar's rule and then under Louis II. As early as 844 he appears among the counts who took part in the Roman expedition led by Louis[40]. In the same way as Abbot Gisleram specialized in supervising female monasteries, Leo and John did in settling disputes. Their appointment as *tutores* of the properties of S. Maria Teodote confirms the high esteem enjoyed by Asia and her monastery in Lothar's eyes. The ruler chose his best men to fulfill her requests. Despite (or thanks to) her *fragilitas sexus*, Asia established effective channels of communication with the kingdom's ruler and political elites. She repeatedly won Lothar's support for her endeavours for the sake of her nuns, while also achieving S. Maria Teodote's inclusion in a network of powerful figures.

In 871 Caila, who succeeded Asia as abbess, addressed Louis II to have the rights and estates of S. Maria Teodote confirmed[41]. The diploma issued by Louis was shaped as a memoir of all the benefices granted by Lothar to S. Maria Teodote, that is, all the rights obtained by the *ancilla dei* Asia from the king *pro diversis utilitatibus eiusdem monasterii*. The closeness developed by Asia with the royal court was at the root of Caila's request. The range and scope of the monastery's patrimonial interests as reflected in Lothar's charters, referring to the navigation on the Ticino and Po rivers and to real estate transactions in Pavia, seem focused on the city and its surrounding territory. The royal charters equally show Asia's successful efforts to establish

[37] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 59, pp. 165-166 (841 VII 20, Aachen).
[38] For what follows see Bullough, *"Leo qui apud Hlotharium"*; Castagnetti, *Il conte Leone*; Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia*, pp. 165-171.
[39] Also see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern*, pp. 219-220 (Leo) and pp. 212-213 (John).
[40] Gantner, *A King in Training?*, especially pp. 166-167.
[41] MGH, DD Lu II, n. 53, pp. 170-171 (871 IV 14, Benevento).

an intimate relationship with the ruler. While operating in the middle of the densely populated monastic landscape of Pavia, S. Maria Teodote carved its own space of action on the local scene, and of communication with the court.

3. *Between the city and the countryside: monasteries in the middle in Carolingian Milan*

The monastic landscape of Milan in Carolingian times was dominated by one institution[42]. St. Ambrose, one of the top-ranking religious communities of the kingdom, enjoyed political support and economical endowment from the Carolingian rulers since the 780s[43]. As a consequence of this, it also played a pivotal role in Milanese society, attracting lands from the elites of both the city and its territory[44]. This is one of the main reasons why the archives of St. Ambrose collected and preserved precious information, otherwise lost, also on other Milanese monasteries[45]. Though inevitably selective and even distorted according to the documentary needs of St. Ambrose, the surviving memories of these institutions "in the middle" can be fruitfully investigated.

In June 823, according to a *chartula commutationis* written by the priest Podo, the brothers Walpert and Theudibert exchanged lands with the *vassus domni imperatoris* Hernust[46]. The two brothers lived in Carpiano, South-East of Milan, where the exchanged lands and also the church of St. Martin, the place of the charter's drafting, were located. In 812, as a *vassus* of Charlemagne, Hernust had been involved in another exchange of lands with the Milanese merchant Bruning[47]. It has been argued that Hernust was one of the Franks who followed Charlemagne in his conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774 and then settled in Italy[48]. In July 823, less than two months after the exchange with Walpert and Theudibert, Hernust and his wife Weltruda exchanged with one another in usufruct all their lands both in Italy, including the goods in Carpiano, and in Alamannia, probably the area where at least one of them came from[49]. The extension of the couple's landed wealth thus embraced both sides of the Alps. Among the witnesses of this act twelve people who declared themselves as *franci* and eleven *alamanni* were recorded.

[42] For an overview on Milan specifically in the times of Lothar I see now Tessera, *A fragmentary story*.
[43] Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*. On Balzaretti's work see now De Angelis, *Milano altomedievale*.
[44] Castagnetti, *La società milanese*; Rapetti, *Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio*.
[45] See the in-depth overview by Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, pp. 49-88, and Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia*, pp. 50-52.
[46] ChLA^2, XCIV, n. 12, pp. 55-57 (823 VI 3, Carpiano).
[47] ChLA^2, XCIV, n. 8, pp. 38-41 (812 IV, Carpiano).
[48] Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 353.
[49] CDL, n. 102, cols. 186-187.

The presence of *Rataldus*, priest and *missus domini imperatoris*, and at least one gastald (Menulfus), highlights the imperial consent to the operation, its more-than-private nature, and the inclusion of Hernust and Weltruda among the elites of the kingdom. Eduard Hlawitschka also suggested that we should identify *Rataldus* with Ratold, bishop of Verona, one of Louis the Pious's most loyal advisors in Italy[50]. Whatever the case, the *vicus* of Carpiano appears as an area where an imperial *vassus* developed landed wealth. As Ross Balzaretti has underlined, «it is quite clear that (…) Carpiano had attracted owners of high social status who profited from the Carolingian takeover of this part of Italy»[51].

The writer of the charter concerning Hernust and the Carpiano brothers recorded the edges of the exchanged lands[52]. Those obtained by Walpert and Theudibert were delimited by lands of St. Ambrose, the goods of a certain Ursus and a public road – that is, the royal fisc. Hernust acquired portions bordering lands he already owned, once again the royal fisc (*terra regis*) and the monastery, probably nunnery, called *Maggiore,* of Milan. The foundation of the *Monasterium Magiore* has been tentatively traced back to the second half of the 8th century, but information about it remains scant all along the ninth century[53]. Its only other ninth century mention appears in the will of the brothers Deusdedit and Senator, clerics from Milan, of 853[54]. In their will, they established that after their death a xenodochium was to be founded on the lands they owned in *Octabo*, between Concorezzo and Cologno Monzese[55]. Their two sisters, referred to as *monachas Monasterii Magiore*, were given the lifelong usufruct of the xenodochium. After these women's death it was to become the property of St. Ambrose. No possibility that the two women had children was apparently conceived, thus supporting the idea that they were nuns. Even though they are few and scattered, these references to the *Monasterium Magiore* allow to draw some considerations on the range of its social connections in the first half of the ninth century. Its lands were concentrated in areas where a whole range of different social players all owned possessions[56]. The royal fisc and the Frankish elites installed in Italy were among them, as well as other Milanese religious communities such as St. Ambrose and S. Vittore di Meda, whose possessions in the area of Carpiano are mentioned in charters from at least 856[57]. As one of their neighbours, the *Monasterium Magiore* was in touch with a number of kin groups and religious

[50] Hlawitschka, *Ratold, Bischof von Verona*. Also see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 359.
[51] Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 354.
[52] Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia*, pp. 226-227.
[53] Occhipinti, *Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore*; Occhipinti, *S. Maurizio*, p. 71.
[54] ChLA², XCV, n. 5, pp. 30-33 ([852 IX-853 I/II], Concorezzo). Also see Castagnetti, *La società milanese*, pp. 382-383; Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, pp. 378-379 and pp. 498-500.
[55] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni*, pp. 23-24.
[56] On Cologno Monzese see the work by Gabriella Rossetti quoted in the previous footnote, and Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, pp. 362-389.
[57] ChLA², XCV, n. 10, pp. 46-48 (856 VI, Milan).

institutions connected to the Carolingian rulers. In other words, this nunnery appears as one more cluster of connections operating within the frame of a highly differentiated social landscape, where the impact of the Carolingian conquest had led to strong transformations. At least this was the way in which Deusdedit and Senator read the monastery's role in this context. By the means of the xenodochium they planned to establish, they devised their family's inclusion into the social networks of St. Ambrose.

The *Monasterium Magiore* was just one of the monasteries contributing to the social complexity of Carolingian Milan. A *cartula ordinationis* of July 850 casts some light on another one of these, S. Vincenzo in Prato[58]. This is not the first mention of S. Vincenzo in early medieval charters[59]. In 806 Odelpert, archbishop of Milan, granted the church of S. Vincenzo, probably not yet connected to a monastic community, to Abbot Arigausus of St. Ambrose[60]. S. Vincenzo in Prato was also mentioned in the suspicious charter issued in 835 by Archbishop Angilbert II to the monks of St. Ambrose as a confirmation of their rights and properties, mostly matching those granted to the community by Lothar in the same year[61]. In any case the subordination of this institution to St. Ambrose had been established since the early ninth century. This was certainly clear to Scaptoald from Sumirago, north-west of Milan, who in 850 had his will written down in Milan by the notary Ambrose. Scaptoald, son of the deceased Vuarnefrit, destined to his sister Giselberga the greatest part of his goods, located in many places of what is now *Varesotto*. Other people and institutions, like his uncle Erminald (a priest) and the church of S. Maria e S. Lorenzo of Sumirago, were equally included as beneficiaries of his generosity. In his will Scaptoald also took care of his servants, whom he set free, granting them the usufruct of little pieces of land for the sustenance of themselves and their families. At the death of these servants the whole patrimony was to be recollected by his sister. Only in the case Giselberga had no children (*quod non credo*, Scaptoald stated), all his goods were to be assigned to S. Vincenzo. In the final part of the charter the notary Ambrose recorded that two copies of it, one for Giselberga and one for S. Vincenzo, were produced. Provided that the will has been preserved in the archives of St. Ambrose, some conclusions can be drawn. 1) Scaptoald's goods were actually included in S. Vincenzo's patrimony, hence in that of St. Ambrose. 2) Giselberga had no children, or none of her children survived to adult age. 3) The copy of the charter we have is the one produced for S. Vincenzo. Further confirmation comes from the mention in a later charter (956) of properties actually held by S. Vincenzo in the area where Scaptoald's lands were located[62].

[58] *Ibidem*, n. 1, pp. 17-20 (850 VII, Milan).
[59] On this monastery see Spinelli, *L'origine desideriana*.
[60] ChLA², XCIV, n. 3, pp. 24-27 (806 I).
[61] CDL, n. 112, cols. 218-219. Lothar's diploma: MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 26, pp. 99-101 (835 May 8). Also see Tessera, *Ambroise et Martin*, pp. 13-15, with more bibliographical references.
[62] CDL, n. 614, cols. 1049-1051.

As Ross Balzaretti highlighted, Scaptoald's patrimony was described as a *curtis* with *domocoltile vel massariciis*, composed of individual plots scattered in many different places[63]. His wealth looks considerable and raises the question of the social status of Scaptoald and his kin group. Sumirago, most probably his place of origin and residence, was at the core of his patrimony and of his plans for it. Since the early ninth century Sumirago appears as another one of the areas where the Frankish elites established themselves and developed their patrimonial presence in Carolingian Northern Italy[64]. In 807 the Alamannian Count Alpcar, *baiolus* of King Pippin's daughter Adelheid, already had properties in Sumirago[65]. Scaptoald and his family were thus the neighbours of a figure ranking among the highest political elites of the kingdom, who had moved to Italy after 774, most probably just like Hernust. Ambrose, the notary who wrote Scaptoald's will, is well attested in the central decades of the ninth century as working for the social elites of Carolingian Lombardy[66]. In 836 he produced the charter by which Hunger, brother of the abovementioned Hernust, designated the executors of his will[67]. Theutpald from Gnignano also had his will written down by Ambrose[68]. His connection with St. Ambrose is further witnessed by two sales of lands to the monastery[69]. So Ambrose (the notary) was a reference point among the professionals of legal writing that contributed to the shaping of the social networks linking wealthy and powerful figures, whose lands were concentrated in Milan's hinterland, to St. Ambrose. With his act, Scaptoald apparently followed a similar pattern. The inclusion of S. Vincenzo in his inheritance plans, though as an alternative solution to the heirless death of his sister, established a connection between Scaptoald and a religious institution connected to St. Ambrose. There can be little doubt of his awareness of the institutional connection existing between S. Vincenzo and St. Ambrose. Scaptoald was apparently familiar with Milan. His charter was written there. Three *negotiantes de Mediolano* subscribed it as witnesses. On these grounds Andrea Castagnetti suggested that Scaptoald himself could be involved in commercial activities[70]. That would place him close to other contemporary figures such as Toto of Campione, a Lombard merchant who established connections with St. Ambrose by the means of gifts of lands[71]. An ecclesiastical career looks equally plausible for Scaptoald. He subscribed in a tentative caroline minus-

[63] Balzaretti, *The "Curtis"*.
[64] De Marchi, *L'alto medioevo nel Seprio*.
[65] On Alpcar see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern*, pp. 120-121; Castagnetti, *La società milanese*, pp. 65-77. On his role as *baiolus* see now Zeller, *Waldo von St. Gallen/Reichenau*, especially. pp. 79-80.
[66] Castagnetti, *La società milanese*, pp. 260-267.
[67] ChLA², XCIV, n. 23, pp. 92-97 (836 II, Milan).
[68] *Ibidem*, n. 26, pp. 103-105 (839 VIII, Milan).
[69] *Ibidem*, n. 37, pp. 143-145 (847 V 14, Milan); *ibidem*, n. 39, pp. 149-151 (848 III 15, Milan).
[70] Castagnetti, *La società milanese*, pp. 361-362.
[71] See the contributions collected in *Carte di famiglia*, especially the papers by Le Jan, *Il gruppo familiare di Totone*, and Gasparri, *Mercanti o possessori?*

cule[72]. He had neither wife nor children, and a priest, his uncle Erminald, was among his closest relatives. Whatever the case, Scaptoald belonged to or wished to be included in, networks of social connections linking different areas of Carolingian Lombardy around one of the key monastic institutions of the kingdom, St. Ambrose.

Within Scaptoald's plans, S. Vincenzo effectively worked as a monastery in the middle. A man of the local elites of the Seprio territory, already neighbour to other figures of more-than-local social relevance, he established a connection with one of the paramount monasteries of Carolingian Italy by including S. Vincenzo in Prato in his will. As Ross Balzaretti argued for tenth century Lombardy, «the on-and-off presence of high-status outsiders helped to make Milanese society a highly competitive and extravagantly violent political environment within a highly competitive policy which displayed elaborately developed and often complex networks of allegiance»[73]. The same seems applicable to the ninth century. This socially fluid landscape offered chances for self-promotion. In such a context, a strong need for intermediaries must have been felt. In Scaptoald's plans S. Vincenzo played that role. This monastery placed itself in the middle between Scaptoald and St. Ambrose, while acquiring lands in Sumirago in the process. Its middleness was both social and patrimonial.

4. *Between a bishop and the lands of his church: Brescia and S. Faustino Maggiore*

Like Milan, Carolingian Brescia was the location of one of the kingdom's most prominent monastic institutions, S. Salvatore, a female community established by the last Lombard king Desiderius and his wife Ansa in the third quarter of the 8th century[74]. If compared with Milan and Pavia, the religious landscape of Brescia, which was dominated by S. Salvatore, appears less complicated, and yet by no means unchangeable. In Carolingian times, and in continuity with the last period of Lombard rule, Brescia featured a range of initiatives for the promotion of the local episcopal seat, its religious communities, and the saints and relics preserved in its territory. The bishops of Brescia were at the core of these processes. In 816 Bishop Anfridius established a new basilica dedicated to the local martyrs Faustinus and Jovita[75]. He also took care of the transfer of their relics to the new church from their

[72] Petrucci, Romeo, *"Scriptores in urbibus"*, p. 62. On the diffusion of the caroline minuscule in Carolingian Milan see Valsecchi, *La scrittura carolina*.
[73] Balzaretti, *Women, Property and Urban Space*, p. 61.
[74] Among a very rich bibliography, see Brogiolo, *Desiderio e Ansa a Brescia*; Andenna, *La vita e il ruolo del monastero*; Baronio, *Desiderio e la "costruzione" del regno*; Gasparri, *Desiderio*, pp. 62-68; and the contributions quoted above, note 1.
[75] Gavinelli, *Il gallo segnavento*, pp. 21-22.

former resting place in S. Faustino *ad sanguinem*. A community of canons was installed in the new basilica's compound, charged with liturgical service and the administration of the relics' veneration. In so doing Anfridius showed his adherence to some of the key principles driving the Carolingian reforms of the cult of saints, such as preference for saintly figures of the past (especially martyrs) and a reorganization of the spaces and staff in the shrines preserving their remains[76]. His choice to establish a community of canons, a way of religious life that underwent reform at the councils held in those years at Aachen, also highlights his acquaintance with contemporary debates over pastoral issues[77]. Around 830 his non-immediate successor Rampertus had Ansfridius's endeavour materially celebrated in a golden wind vane in the shape of a rooster, placed on the top of S. Faustino Maggiore[78]. An inscription running on the metal feathers of the rooster recalled the translation. Some years later, in 838, Rampertus operated his own transfer of relics and reappraisal of a saint's cult. The body of Philastrius, a 4th century bishop and a correspondent of Ambrose, was taken from the church of S. Andrea to the winter cathedral. Rampertus was also the author of a hagiographical text celebrating the event, the *Translatio Filastrii*[79]. As Giorgia Vocino has argued, «la translation des reliques de saint Filastre scella alors le programme de valorisation de la cathédrale de Brescia»[80].

Around 841 a new intervention on the cult and the church of Faustinus and Jovita was promoted by Rampertus. The community of canons was turned into a community of monks[81]. According to the act of foundation of the monastery, the bishop endowed it with a range of properties scattered in the territory of the diocese and previously pertaining to other religious institutions or to vassals of the bishop[82]. The foundation charter thus witnesses a wide-ranging plan of land concentration. The bishop's purpose was that of establishing a closer control over goods previously dispersed among different institutions and areas of his episcopal territory. The core of this project was the new monastery, founded by and depending on the bishop, even though Rampertus granted to the monks the right to elect their abbot freely. According to the foundation charter, the monastery was placed in the middle between the bishop and his re-organized landed wealth. S. Faustino Maggiore was called to function as the bishop's safe, collecting for him all the income that could be produced by the lands under the monks' administration. Caution is nevertheless necessary. Even though it has come to us only in later copies, the

[76] Fouracre, *The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt*; Veronese, *Tra rispetto delle leggi e furti notturni*.
[77] Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, pp. 94-121.
[78] Gavinelli, *Il gallo segnavento*; Gavinelli, *Il gallo di Ramperto*.
[79] Bettelli Bergamaschi, *Ramperto, vescovo di Brescia*, also providing an edition of the text.
[80] Vocino, *"Triginta autem Brixienses"*, p. 317.
[81] Spinelli, *Ordini e congregazioni religiose*, pp. 295-296; Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino*, pp. 49-62.
[82] CDL, n. 140, cols. 245-248.

foundation charter, dated to 31 May 841, is usually accepted as authentic and reliable[83]. Recently Giancarlo Andenna has noticed «aspetti che ci inducono a propendere per la non genuinità dell'atto, fortemente interpolato»[84]. In 842 Archbishop Angilbert of Milan issued a *praeceptum synodale* confirming the foundation of the monastery, together with the rights to elect the abbot freely and to appoint a *defensor*[85]. But Angilbert's act has equally been transmitted through late copies[86]. What appears certain is that monastic life was actually established in S. Faustino Maggiore in the early 840s, when the Frankish monks Hildemar and Leodegarius were called by Angilbert to teach the principles of saint Benedict's rule to the local community[87]. The archbishop thus actively supported Rampertus's initiative. Later Hildemar and Leodegarius were given the same task in S. Pietro of Civate[88]. When they left, Rampertus asked Bishop Hagano of Bergamo for substitutes[89]. The priest Maginarius, trained like Rampertus in the Alamannian abbey of Reichenau, was chosen to replace Hildemar and Leodegarius. Angilbert, Hagano and Rampertus took the establishment of a monastic community seriously, contributing with both material and cultural resources. The foundation, endowment, and religious organization of S. Faustino Maggiore as a monastery was a shared endeavour, started by Rampertus and involving a number of bishops. In his will of 846 Bishop Billung of Verona also granted a part of his estates to S. Faustino Maggiore, described in fact just as a *basilica*, not (yet?) a monastery[90]. Billung, most probably coming from Alamannia like his predecessors Egino, Ratold, and Notingus, is a shadowy figure[91]. A deacon Billung was the first subscriber of Rampertus's foundation charter. A personal connection between the bishop of Verona and the monastery of S. Faustino could certainly provide an explanation for his choice of benefiting a religious institution located outside his diocese[92]. No doubt the documents concerning the foundation of S. Faustino deserve deeper analysis. Yet it looks possible to draw a basic consideration. The monastery of S. Faustino Maggiore was established by Rampertus as one more step in the bishops of Brescia's attempts to increase the dignity of their office and their ranking among the bishops of Carolingian Northern Italy. In order to do that they could not count on S. Salvatore. Its character as a Lombard royal foundation was reinstated by the Carolingian rulers, who

[83] See the bibliography quoted above, footnotes 78-81.
[84] Andenna, *Ramperto*, p. 329; also see Barbieri – Concaro – Vecchio, *Le carte del monastero*, p. 211.
[85] MGH, Conc. II, n. 62, pp. 814-815.
[86] Zagni, *Gli atti arcivescovili*, pp. 26-28.
[87] Villa, *"Denique Terenti dultia legimus acta"*, pp. 18-20; Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures*, pp. 48-49.
[88] Tomea, *"Nunc in prefato monasterio Clavadis"*; Tessera, *A fragmentary story*, pp. 39-42.
[89] On Hagano see De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere*, pp. 39-56.
[90] ChLA², LX, n. 26, pp. 118-121 (846 X [12], Verona). Also see Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale*, p. 104; Bougard, *Tesori e "mobilia" italiani*, pp. 83-84.
[91] Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche dominanti*, p. 19.
[92] Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino*, p. 61.

consistently granted it and its revenues to their queens and empresses, from Louis the Pious's second wife Judith on[93]. In these women's hands S. Salvatore became a repository of wealth and a place preserving the memory of the Carolingians in Italy. The ninth century bishops of Brescia were closely connected to S. Salvatore, as the inclusion of their names in the lists of the monastery's *liber vitae* witnesses[94]. Yet they were always excluded from the possibility of using it for their own plans. As a consequence Rampertus probably felt the need to found a new monastery, that he and his successors could freely handle. A re-organization of his bishopric's resources was a task that such an institution could successfully accomplish.

Further framing for the establishment of the monastery can be pointed out when the issue of Rampertus's origins is taken into account. There is no agreement on that. Some scholars have suggested his connection to a local kin group of Lombard tradition[95], while others argued that he came from beyond the Alps[96]. Rampertus had connections with the Alamannian monastery of Reichenau, where he probably received his education and where he retired in his final years[97]. These connections have been highlighted as supporting his transalpine origins[98]. If that was the case, Rampertus's position as a foreign bishop would be similar to that of other holders of public offices, bishops and counts, operating in Carolingian Italy but coming from other regions of the Frankish domains[99]. Their appointment responded to the rulers' need to entrust the role of mediators in the political communication with the local elites of the newly conquered regions to reliable and skilled figures. Rampertus's endeavours in the reassessment of the cult of local saints, like Philastrius, Faustinus and Jovita, show similarities with those brought on in the same years by other foreign bishops, like Ratold of Verona[100]. The successor of Rampertus as bishop of Brescia, Notingus, was certainly from Alamannia, and was well aware of Ratold's actions and plans, as he briefly was bishop of Verona in the early 840s before being appointed as bishop of Brescia[101]. Notingus actively supported the monasteries in the diocese of Brescia, thus showing his commitment in cooperating with the local society. In a diploma (858-866) by Louis II, preserved only in an early modern transcription, the gift of a *curtis* in Valenzano to the *monasterium Honorii* of Brescia, granted

[93] La Rocca, *Les cadeaux nuptiaux*; La Rocca, *Monachesimo femminile*; Lazzari, *Una santa, una badessa e una principessa*.
[94] See for instance ms. Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, G.VI.7, f. 34v: *Rampertus ep(iscopu)s* is the first name of the first line. The *liber* is published in *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex*. On San Salvatore's *liber vitae* see Ludwig, *Das Gedenkbuch von San Salvatore*.
[95] Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino*; Vocino, *"Triginta autem Brixienses"*.
[96] Gavinelli, *Il gallo segnavento*, pp. 26-27; Andenna, *Ramperto*, p. 328.
[97] Ludwig, *Zur Chronologie der Nameneinträge*, pp. 103-104.
[98] Andenna, *Ramperto*, p. 328.
[99] See Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 206-238.
[100] See Veronese, *The struggle for (self-)integration*.
[101] Andenna, *Notingo*.

by Notingus in his will, was confirmed to Abbess Liutperga[102]. The document highlights the role of Amalberga, abbess of the *monasterium Novum* – S. Salvatore – as intermediary with the imperial court on Liutperga's behalf[103]. The relationships between San Salvatore and the *monasterium Honorii* are far from clear[104]. Nowhere in the charter is the *monasterium Honorii* said to be formally subordinated to S. Salvatore. In the same way, Notingus is not addressed as the monastery's founder. The first mention of the community in an original charter dates to 882, when Abbess Ardefusa granted *libellario nomine* a *sors massaricia* in Pollione[105]. The charter says nothing more than Louis's diploma about the monastery's relationships with S. Salvatore, as well as with the bishops of Brescia. The only hint supporting the existence of connections with the episcopal authority is the initial location of the monastery in what is now the *broletto*, an area physically close to the cathedral. According to the diploma, the *monasterium Honorii* was one more patrimonial player in Carolingian Brescia, one that attracted a foreign bishop's generosity and was used by him as a tool for developing his networks of relationships with the local society. In the meantime, this monastery accumulated lands in a diocesan range, in Valenzano and Pollione. The definition of monastery in the middle looks fitting in this case.

5. *Conclusions*

In a broad sense, all early medieval monasteries were in the middle. That was one of the reasons why they were established in the first place. In the eyes of their founders they were expected to attract gifts of lands from wealthy and powerful landowners in exchange for the services of intercessory prayer and memory upkeeping performed by the monks or nuns[106]. Monasteries thus became focal points around which networks of social and political connections were developed and nurtured. When they struggled, failed, or stopped doing that, or the kin group that had founded them was no longer in a condition to handle them, provisions had to be made. Reforms in the communities' way of living, attachment to other religious entities like episcopal churches or monastic powerhouses, and the assessment of new cults through relics transfers were the most frequently adopted solutions. Despite the local and regional differences both in our sources and in the forms taken by the processes of accumulation of monastic landed wealth, early medieval monasteries clearly worked as intermediaries between different social groups, and contributed in

[102] MGH, DD Lu II, n. 43, pp. 152-153.
[103] On Amalperga see Pazienza, West-Harling, *Networking Nuns*.
[104] On this monastery see Trotti, *San Cosma e Damiano*, especially pp. 52-57.
[105] ChLA^2, XCIX, n. 20, pp. 93-95 (882 XI 10, Brescia).
[106] Historiographical considerations in Diem, Rapp, *The Monastic Laboratory*. Also see Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*.

many ways to the configuration of the early medieval West as a temple society, as Ian Wood recently defined it[107]. So, what is the point in talking about monasteries in the middle – especially with regard to the cases considered here?

Each of the three local contexts I examined featured conditions of their own, determining to a variable extent the possibilities, limits, and choices of the religious communities operating within them. In Carolingian times Milan and its archbishops developed close relationships with rulers, usually supporting and cooperating with them but sometimes also taking sides with a king against an emperor, as Archbishop Anselm did during the revolt of King Bernard of Italy[108]. St. Ambrose played a key role in these processes. This monastery attracted the generosity of the Carolingians generosity and became a place where their memory and their bodies were preserved and celebrated. A close connection with the archbishops' saintly predecessor Ambrose, whose body was equally preserved in the monastery's basilica, was thus established. As Miriam Tessera and Giorgia Vocino have underlined, the archbishops of Carolingian Milan were keen to celebrate, but also to reshape, Ambrose's memory through both material and textual endeavours[109]. A similarly close connection tied the Italian branch of the Carolingians to S. Salvatore of Brescia, though with different tools. S. Salvatore's status as a royal foundation was preserved after 774 and more and more associated with its attribution to the women of the imperial family. Pavia was in a different situation in the aftermath of the Frankish conquest. Yet its monastic institutions, and especially its female communities, developed a role as intermediaries between the royal authority and the local society, as shown by both the royal charters issued for S. Maria Teodote and the attribution of the *Reginae* monastery to Queen Hirmingard. Yet the charter evidence connected with all these institutions also allows to appreciate, though only in glimpses, the existence and activities of other monasteries. A complicated and multi-layered monastic landscape, crowded with low-to-middle-level communities, thus becomes visible. Each of them offered multiple solutions to those willing to take advantage of the memorial and social services provided by monasteries in the Carolingian world. At the same time, and in so doing, they were able to set themselves as intermediaries between different players and institutions, both horizontally and vertically. S. Vincenzo in Prato, a male community whose founders are unknown, allowed Scaptoald to plan, or to enhance, his and his kin group's inclusion in the networks connecting Milan and the Seprio area. S. Faustino Maggiore, another male community founded by bishops, was one of the tools used by Rampertus to consolidate his position as a – possibly foreign – bishop in the local context of Brescia, while at the same time assessing his adherence to the Carolingian cultural toolkit kindly provided by Angilbert II, Leodegar-

[107] Wood, *The Christian Economy*.
[108] Noble, *The Revolt of King Bernard*; de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 24-30.
[109] Tessera, *A fragmentary story*; Tessera, *Ambroise et Martin*; Vocino, *Framing Ambrose*; Vocino, *Bishops in the Mirror*.

ius and Hildemar. S. Maria *Honorii*, a female community of unknown foundation, apparently played a similar role for Bishop Notingus. Finally S. Maria Teodote, a female institution whose foundation was attributed to different figures, broke the wall of suspicion apparently surrounding Pavia's monasteries in the eyes of the Carolingian rulers of Italy, thus potentially developing a role as intermediary between the court and local elites. Male and female communities of both private and public foundation were equally part of the highly complicated monastic landscape of Carolingian Lombardy. Their ability to be acknowledged as social, political, economical and cultural intermediaries was what allowed them to make their contribution to the shaping of the networks connecting different social levels and groups. The definition of these institutons as monasteries in the middle points to the highlighting of the multiple meanings of their "middleness". They were in the middle of exchanges of lands between landowners characterized by different levels of wealth and power. They were also in the middle in the political communications between the city and their countryside. The connections they contributed to establishing were both horizontal and vertical, sometimes stretching as high as the king. At the same time their "middleness" was within the scope and limits of their patrimonies, circumscribed to the area of a bishopric. They were both medium-scale and in the middle.

The definition of monasteries in the middle appears to respond to different needs. On the one hand it provides a common interpretive category for dealing with different religious entities satisfying the criteria enunciated above. It therefore allows us to open up the investigation to institutions that scholars have not fully considered so far, but that can provide richer and more nuanced pictures of the local monastic landscapes of the Carolingian world. As a result this category of analysis seems useful as a reminder of the need to pay attention and further investigate the multiple ways and tools deployed by early medieval monasteries to fulfil their functions as intermediaries.

Works cited

S. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians, 751-888*, London-New York 2020.

G. Andenna, *Notingo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 78, Roma 2013, pp. 778-781.

G. Andenna, *Ramperto*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 86, Roma 2016, pp. 327-330.

G. Andenna, *La vita e il ruolo del monastero*, in *San Salvatore - Santa Giulia a Brescia. Il monastero nella storia*, ed. R. Stradiotti, Milano 2001, pp. 41-53.

R. Balzaretti, *The "Curtis", the archaeology of sites of power*, in *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, ed. R. Francovich, G. Noyé, Firenze 1994, pp. 99-108.

R. Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose. Monks and Society in Early Medieval Milan*, Turnhout 2019.

R. Balzaretti, *Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan*, in *Gender and the City before Modernity*, ed. L. Foxhall, G. Neher, Chichester 2013 («Gender & History», 3), pp. 57-85.

E. Barbieri, P. Concaro, D. Vecchio, *Le carte del monastero di San Faustino Maggiore (1126-1299)*, in «Brixia Sacra», 11 (2006), 1, pp. 209-418.

A. Baronio, *Desiderio e la "costruzione" del regno*, in *Desiderio. Il progetto politico dell'ultimo re longobardo*, ed. G. Archetti, Spoleto 2015, pp. 217-272.

A. Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino nel Medioevo*, in «Brixia Sacra», 11 (2006), 1, pp. 49-84.

J. Beaucamp, *Le vocabulaire de la faiblesse féminine dans les textes juridiques romains du III^e^ au VI^e^ siècle*, in «Revue historique de droit français et étranger», 54 (1976), 4, pp. 485-508.

C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions. The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*, Philadelphia 2009.

M. Bettelli Bergamaschi, *Ramperto, vescovo di Brescia, e la "Historia de translatione beati Philastrii"*, in «Archivio Ambrosiano», 28 (1975), pp. 18-140.

F. Bougard, *Du centre à la périphérie : le "ventre mou" du royaume d'Italie de la mort de Louis II à l'avénement d'Otton I^er^*, in *Urban Identities in Northern Italy (800-1100 ca.)*, ed. M.C. La Rocca, P. Majocchi, Turnhout 2015, pp. 15-31.

F. Bougard, *Tesori e "mobilia" italiani dell'alto medioevo*, in *Tesori. Forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V-XI)*, ed. S. Gelichi, C. La Rocca, Roma 2004, pp. 69-122.

G.P. Brogiolo, *Desiderio e Ansa a Brescia: dalla fondazione del monastero al mito*, in *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, ed. C. Bertelli, Brogiolo, 2, Milano 2000, pp. 143-155.

D.A. Bullough, *"Leo qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur" et le gouvernement du "Regnum Italiae" à l'époque carolingienne*, in «Le Moyen Âge», 67 (1961), pp. 221-245.

Carte di famiglia. Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721-877), ed. S. Gasparri, M.C. La Rocca, Roma 2005.

Le carte del monastero di San Salvatore e Santa Giulia di Brescia, vol. 1, *(759-1170)*, ed. G. Cossandi, Spoleto 2020.

A. Castagnetti, *Il conte Leone (801-847) e i suoi figli (840-881) nell'amministrazione missatica della giustizia*, in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti*, vol. 2, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, G.M. Varanini, Verona 2007, pp. 7-126.

A. Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche dominanti e rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari. Alamanni e Franchi a Verona e nel Veneto in età carolingia e postcarolingia*, Verona 1990.

A. Castagnetti, *La società milanese in età carolingia*, Verona 2017.

R.S. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford 2016.

S. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle "élites" laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les Élites et Leurs Espaces. Mobilité, Rayonnement, Domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007, pp. 319-340.

Dalla corte regia al monastero di San Salvatore-Santa Giulia di Brescia, ed. G.P. Brogiolo, Mantova 2014.

J. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, Cambridge 2015 < https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139924726.009 >.

G. De Angelis, *Milano altomedievale e gli "esperimenti di verità" di Ross Balzaretti*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 22 (2021), 1, pp. 33-39 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/7952 >.

G. De Angelis, *Poteri cittadini e intellettuali di potere. Scrittura, documentazione, politica a Bergamo nei secoli IX-XII*, Milano 2009.
M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, Cambridge 2009.
P.M. De Marchi, *L'alto medioevo nel Seprio: i centri di potere tra fonti scritte e archeologiche*, in *I Longobardi a nord di Milano. Centri di potere tra Adda e Ticino*, ed. G.P. Brogiolo, M.P. De Marchi, Mantova 2020, pp. 223-240.
F. De Rubeis, *San Salvatore di Brescia tra re e imperatori: l'iscrizione dedicatoria del re Desiderio*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 405-419 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/6111 >.
P. Delogu, *"Consors regni": un problema carolingio*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 76 (1964), pp. 47-98.
P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, Sigmaringen 1997.
A. Diem, C. Rapp, *The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism*, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the West*, ed. A.I. Beach, I. Cochelin, Cambridge 2020, pp. 19-39.
F.-R. Erkens, *"Sicut Esther regina". Die westfränkische Königin als "consors regni"*, in «Francia», 20 (1993), 1, pp. 15-38.
G. Forzatti Golia, *Monasteri femminili a Pavia nell'alto medioevo*, in *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII-X).* Atti del VII Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10-13 settembre 2003, ed. G. Spinelli, Cesena 2006, pp. 295-320.
P.J. Fouracre, *The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints*, in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. J.D. Howard-Johnston, P.A. Hayward, Oxford 1999, pp. 143-165.
C. Gantner, *A King in Training? Louis II of Italy and His Expedition to Rome in 844*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and Its Rulers*, ed. C. Gantner, W. Pohl, Cambridge 2021, pp. 164-181.
S. Gasparri, *Desiderio*, Roma 2019.
S. Gasparri, *Mercanti o possessori? Profilo di un ceto dominante in un'età di transizione*, in *Carte di famiglia. Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721-877)*, ed. S. Gasparri, C. La Rocca, Roma 2005, pp. 157-178.
S. Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo*, in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, C. La Rocca, R. Le Jan, Rome 2005, pp. 97-113.
S. Gavinelli, *Il gallo di Ramperto: potere, simboli e scrittura a Brescia nel IX secolo*, in *"Margarita amicorum". Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, vol. 1, ed. F. Forner, C.M. Monti, P.G. Schmidt, Milano 2005, pp. 401-428.
S. Gavinelli, *Il gallo segnavento del vescovo Ramperto di Brescia*, in «Brixia Sacra», 9 (2004), 3-4, pp. 21-38.
M. Graziosi, *"Fragilitas sexus". Alle origini della costruzione giuridica dell'inferiorità delle donne*, in *Corpi e storia. Donne e uomini dal mondo antico all'età contemporanea*, ed. N.M. Filippini, T. Plebani, A. Scattigno, Roma 2002, pp. 19-38.
E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien, 774-962. Zum Verständnis des fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960.
E. Hlawitschka, *Ratold, Bischof von Verona und Begründer von Radolfzell*, in «Hegau», 54-55 (1997-1998), pp. 5-44.
R.D. Kramer, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire: ideals and expectations during the reign of Louis the Pious (813-828)*, Amsterdam 2019.
M.C. La Rocca, *Les cadeaux nuptiaux de la famille royale en Italie*, in *Dots et douaires dans le Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Rome 2002, pp. 499-526.
M.C. La Rocca, *Monachesimo femminile e poteri delle regine tra VIII e X secolo*, in *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII-X).* Atti del VII Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10-13 settembre 2003, Cesena 2006, pp. 119-143.
M.C. La Rocca, *Ritornare fragili. Immagini e pratiche delle donne prima, durante e dopo la guerra gotica*, in *Justinian's legacy: the last war of Roman Italy*, ed. H.W. Dey, F. Oppedisano, Roma 2024, pp. 337-370.
T. Lazzari, *Una mamma carolingia e una moglie supponide: percorsi femminili di legittima-*

zione e potere nel regno italico, in *"C'era una volta un re…". Aspetti e momenti della regalità*, ed. G. Isabella, Bologna 2005, pp. 41-57.
T. Lazzari, *Una santa, una badessa e una principessa: note di lettura sul capitello di santa Giulia nel museo di Brescia*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 421-446 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/6120 >.
R. Le Jan, *Il gruppo familiare di Totone: identità e strategie patrimoniali*, in *Carte di famiglia. Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721-877)*, ed. S. Gasparri, C. La Rocca, Roma 2005, pp. 13-28.
U. Ludwig, *Zur Chronologie der Nameneinträge*, in *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. A. Angenendt, G. Muschiol, K. Schmid, J. Vezin, Hannover 2000, pp. 89-129.
U. Ludwig, *Das Gedenkbuch von San Salvatore in Brescia: ein Memorialzeugnis aus dem karolingischen Italien*, in *"Memoria". Erinnern und Vergessen in der Kultur des Mittelalters / "Memoria". Ricordare e dimenticare nella cultura del medioevo*, ed. M. Borgolte, C.D. Fonseca, H. Houben, Bologna 2005, pp. 169-200.
P. Majocchi, *Pavia città regia. Storia e memoria di una capitale medievale*, Roma 2008 (Altomedioevo, 6).
P. Majocchi, *Sviluppo e affermazione di una capitale altomedievale: Pavia in età gota e longobarda*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 11 (2010), 2, pp. 168-179.
E. Manarini, *Politiche regie e conflitti nell'Emilia orientale: la fisionomia del fisco regio, San Silvestro di Nonantola e le lotte per il regno dopo l'875*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 121-156 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/6077 >.
Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe, ed. S. Patzold, C. van Rhijn, Berlin-Boston 2016.
Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 4).
Z. Mistry, *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages, c. 500-900*, Woodbridge 2015.
T.F.X. Noble, *The Revolt of King Bernard of Italy in 817: Its Causes and Consequences*, in «Studi medievali», s. III, 15 (1974), pp. 315-326.
Nonantola 6. Monaci e contadini, abati e re: il monastero di Nonantola attraverso l'archeologia (2002-2009), ed. S. Gelichi, M. Librenti, A. Cianciosi, Firenze 2018.
E. Occhipinti, *Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore di Milano in età medioevale: il problema delle origini e la configurazione giuridico-patrimoniale*, in «Studi di storia e diplomatica di Milano», 2 (1977), pp. 47-96.
E. Occhipinti, *S. Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore di Milano*, in *Monasteri benedettini in Lombardia*, ed. G. Picasso, Milano 1980, pp. 67-79.
Il patrimonio delle regine: beni del fisco e politica regia tra IX e X secolo, ed. T. Lazzari, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 13 (2012), 2, pp. 123-298 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/370 >.
S. Patzold, C. van Rhijn, *Introduction*, in *Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Patzold, C. van Rhijn, Berlin-Boston 2016, pp. 1-10.
Pauli Historia Langobardorum, ed. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, Hannover 1878 (MGH, SS rer. Lang.), pp. 12-187.
A. Pazienza, *Le donne di San Ciriaco e l'agire femminile a Roma nei secoli X e XI*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 475-515 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/6089 >.
A. Pazienza, V. West-Harling, *Networking Nuns: Imperial Power and Family Alliances at S. Salvatore di Brescia (c. 837-61)*, in «Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies», 10 (2021), pp. 9-39.
A. Peroni, *Il monastero altomedievale di S. Maria "Teodote" a Pavia*, in «Studi medievali», s. III, 13 (1972), pp. 1-93.
A. Petrucci, C. Romeo, *"Scriptores in urbibus". Alfabetismo e cultura scritta nell'Italia altomedievale*, Bologna 1992.
A. Rapetti, *Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio tra ambizioni di crescita e strategie di protezione*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 22 (2021), 1, pp. 15-23 < https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/7949 >.
G. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado Lombardo durante il medioevo. Cologno Monzese*, vol. 1, *Secoli VIII-X*, Milano 1968.
M. Rotili, *Testimonianze monumentali e archeologiche*, in *Desiderio. Il progetto politico dell'ultimo re longobardo*. Atti del Primo convegno internazionale di studio (Brescia, 21-24 marzo 2013), ed. G. Archetti, Spoleto 2015, pp. 75-144.
I. Santos Salazar, *Fiscal Lands, Rural Communities and the Abbey of Nonantola: Social Ine-*

quality in Ninth-Century Emilia (Italy), in *Social Inequality in Early Medieval Europe. Local Societies and Beyond*, ed. J.A. Quirós Castillo, Turnhout 2020, pp. 203-225.
I. Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia*, Roma 2021.
E.M. Screen, *Lothar I in Italy, 834-840: Charters and Authority*, in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, ed. J. Jarrett, A.S. McKinley, Turnhout 2013, pp. 231-252.
L. Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni. *L'azione politica di Lotario I (795-855) alla luce delle fonti storico-narrative del secolo IX*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Trento, 2017.
A.A. Settia, *Pavia carolingia e postcarolingia*, in *Storia di Pavia*, vol. 2, *L'alto medioevo*, ed. R. Bossaglia, Pavia 1987, pp. 68-158.
G. Spinelli, *L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro di Civate*, in «Aevum», 60 (1986), pp. 198-217.
G. Spinelli, *Ordini e congregazioni religiose*, in *Diocesi di Brescia*, ed. A. Caprioli, A. Rimoldi, L. Vaccaro, Brescia 1992, pp. 291-355.
M.R. Tessera, *Ambroise et Martin. L'autel d'or de la basilique Saint-Ambroise et le programme épiscopal d'Angilbert II de Milan*, in «Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest», 126 (2019), 1, pp. 7-29.
M.R. Tessera, *A fragmentary story: episcopal culture in Milan during Lothar I's reign?*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022, pp. 33-65 < https://doi.org/10.36253/978-88-5518-623-0.04 >.
P. Tomea, *"Nunc in monasterio prefato Clavadis nostro tempore condito requiescit". Il trasferimento di Calocero a Civate e altre traslazioni di santi nella provincia ecclesiastica di Milano e nei suoi dintorni tra VIII e X secolo*, in *Età romanica. Metropoli, contado, ordini monastici nell'attuale provincia di Lecco, XI-XII secolo*, ed. C. Bertelli, Milano 2006, pp. 159-190.
G. Tondini, *"Consors regni": les variations d'un titre dans le passage du masculin au féminin (IV[e]-X[e] siècle)*, in *Femmes de pouvoir et pouvoir des femmes dans l'Occident médiéval et moderne*, ed. A. Nayt-Dubois, E. Santinelli-Foltz, Valenciennes 2009, pp. 399-422.
P. Trotti, *San Cosma e Damiano a Brescia. Per una rilettura critica delle origini del monastero femminile*, in «Brixia Sacra», 5 (2000), 1, pp. 45-72.
B. Valsecchi, *La scrittura carolina nei documenti notarili milanesi. Proposta e ricezione di un modello (sec. IX-X)*, in «Aevum», 69 (1995), pp. 311-345.
F. Veronese, *Tra rispetto delle leggi e furti notturni. Narrazioni di mobilità di reliquie nelle* translationes *carolinge*, «Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 132 (2020), 2, pp. 328-338.
F. Veronese, *The struggle for (self-)integration. Manuscripts, liturgy and networks in Verona at the time of Bishop Ratold (c. 802-840/3)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 42), pp. 67-90 < https://doi.org/10.36253/978-88-5518-623-0.05 >.
C. Villa, *"Denique Terenti dultia legimus acta...": una "lectura Terenti" a S. Faustino di Brescia nel secolo IX*, in «Italia medioevale e umanistica», 22 (1979), pp. 1-44.
G. Vocino, *Hagiography as an Instrument for Political Claims in Carolingian Northern Italy: The Saint Syrus Dossier (BHL 7976 and 7978)*, in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. P. Sarris, M. Dal Santo, P. Booth, Leiden-Boston 2011 (Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages, 20), pp. 169-186.
G. Vocino, *Bishops in the mirror: from self-representation to episcopal model. The case of the eloquent bishops Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great*, in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. R. Meens, D. van Espelo, B. van den Hoven van Genderen, J. Raaijmakers, I. van Renswoude, C. van Rhijn, Manchester 2016, pp. 331-349.
G. Vocino, *Framing Ambrose in the resources of the past: the late antique and early medieval sources for a Carolingian portrait of Ambrose*, in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, S. Meeder, Cambridge 2015, pp. 135-151.
G. Vocino, *"Triginta autem Brixienses sunt episcopi quos meminimus". Mémoire épiscopale et hagiographie à l'époque carolingienne: le dossier de saint Filastre évêque de Brescia*, in *"Rerum gestarum scriptor". Histoire et historiographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Coumert, M.-C. Isaïa, K. Krönert, S. Shimahara, Paris 2012, pp. 313-328.
R.G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy*, Cambridge 2012.

I. Wood, *The Christian Economy in the Early Medieval West. Towards a Temple Society*, New York 2022.
L.F. Zagni, *Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII-IX*, in «Studi di storia medioevale e di diplomatica», 2 (1977), pp. 5-45.
B. Zeller, *Waldo von St. Gallen/Reichenau als "baiolus atque praecipuus operator" in Italien*, in Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2023, pp. 69-95.

Francesco Veronese
University of Padua (Italy)
francesco.veronese.3@unipd.it
0000-0002-2189-1485

Aristocratic land ownership. Land ownership between the centre and the hinterland as represented in the language of notarial deeds

by Anna Rapetti

The system of land ownership between the ninth and tenth centuries was significantly influenced by a series of environmental and cultural factors mediated by the customs of those notaries tasked with certifying and registering property deeds. The language used in notarial deeds to describe real estate in the areas of Venice and Milan will be analysed here in order to reconstruct the forms that the organisation of landed property took, together with the agrarian landscape of the time, and to ascertain what resources were actually available and utilised during that historical period. In doing so, evidence will be offered of the many similarities between properties, deriving from the notaries' ability to define land organisation in a similar manner through their use of a standardised language of property ownership.

Middle Ages; ninth-tenth centuries; Milan; Venice; land ownership; notarial language; landed property organisation.

Anna Rapetti, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy, arapetti@unive.it, 0000-0003-1769-4742

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Anna Rapetti, *Aristocratic land ownership. Land ownership between the centre and the hinterland as represented in the language of notarial deeds*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.08, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 119-137, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

ChLA², LIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LIX, Italy XXXI, Verona 1, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2001.

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², XCIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIV, Italy LXVI, Milano 1, publ. M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², XCV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCV, Italy LXVII, Milano 2, publ. A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2016.

MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin-Zürich 1966, pp. 1-365 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).

MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).

1. *Recording land and property*

On the 3rd of March 856, Pietro II, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Ambrose in Milan, took possession of a number of properties donated to the abbey by Gunzo, the archdeacon of the Milanese church. The properties, consisting of three peasant farms (*casae*) run by three different men, and four plots of land (*camporas*), all situated in the village (*in vico*) and on the associated farmland (*in vico et fundo*) of a location south of Milan called Gnignano, were situated some twenty kilometres from the monastery. The description given of the property in question is rather sketchy. However, the taking of possession – the *vestitura* – took the form of a series of symbolic and ritual, but also extremely concrete, gestures. The new owner went from one room to another of the houses, touched the columns and walls of said rooms, and raised a few roof tiles before replacing them. Finally, the abbot and his men went to the fields and had them ploughed, the document states – evidently just a few furrows were ploughed[1]. These a few lines which, while not offering any real description of the properties in question, nevertheless underscored the importance of describing the actual moment in which possession of the properties was publicly and lawfully transferred from one owner to another[2]. The document was the manifestation of the new owner's rights as

[1] «Introivit in casa et curte illa, quas laborat Teoderissius, et conpreinsit, iusta cartula, vestitura per furca de cassina (...). Deinde ambolaverunt ad casa illa, quas lavorat Petornace (...). Insuper eciam nominative ambulaverunt super camporas illas in dicto vico, uno qui nominatur ad Albaro, alio ad Runcore, tertio ibique ad Runcore, quarto ad Aquamaria; et exinde, ut supra, vestitura conpreinsit et inde vestitus fuit, et eciam fecit ibi arare et in suprascriptas casas discopersit et copersit»: ChLA², XCV, n. 9, pp. 41-45 (856 III 3). With regard to this and other *memoratoria* documents to be found in the same archives, see Ansani, *Pratiche documentarie*, pp. 101-102.

[2] With regard to the symbolic value of harvesting the land in relation to ownership of that land, see Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, pp. 447 sgg.

claimed before the men of the village of Gnignano; and this ownership claim was in fact based on the tangible nature of the fields, houses and other property concerned.

My analysis starts from the belief that the way of organising landed property in the ninth and tenth centuries depended on a series of cultural and environmental factors, part of which were mediated by the culture of those notaries who drew up and registered property deeds; and this question is even more interesting if one considers that possession also lay at the basis of political and social power, as we all know. I am interested in studying the material characteristics, and more broadly speaking the environmental aspects, of land ownership, by considering it to be a natural phenomenon as well as a series of practices, economic decisions and forms of allocation of the associated resources, which are essentially of a cultural nature and thus liable to change from one place to another and over the course of time. Through an analysis of the language used by notaries to describe the properties exchanging hands, it is possible to reconstruct the actual ways in which landed property was organised, together with the agricultural landscape of certain areas of the country, and to establish which resources were actually available and utilised at the time. By applying this comparative analytical approach to a small number of Venetian and Milanese documents, I am going to analyse the similarities, in terms of their form and composition, between real-estate assets situated in the Venetian lagoon area and in the Po Plain, and show that these similarities were not at all random, but rather the result of the capacity of the notaries of the time to establish, for their clients' benefit, forms of real estate that were basically similar, through their use of a substantially standardised language of land ownership. The notaries in question, in their descriptions of the properties they were dealing with, did not simply depict the reality but rather they created and moulded it. In the Milan and Venice areas furthermore, they created such real estate in a rather similar fashion, and in doing so established a common semantics of spatial recognition.

The documents I used – concerning both the Venice area and the Milan hinterland – in the main come from the monasteries in those areas, and are thus of a fairly similar nature. These two areas of Northern Italy, however, differ substantially in terms of the numbers of property deeds available: those documents suitable for the type of analysis I intend to conduct are fewer than ten in number in the case of Venice, whereas the Milan area documents are considerably more numerous[3]. This notwithstanding, the comparison of two

[3] In order to mitigate this numerical imbalance, I extended the timescale to include the early tenth century, thus going well beyond the limits of Lothar's reign, and made a selection, on a geographical basis, from the otherwise excessive number of property deeds from the Milan area. These latter documents, the great majority of which come from the archives of the monastery of Saint Ambrose in Milan, have recently been the subject of Balzaretti's extensive study entitled *The land of Saint Ambrose*. This fact renders them particularly valuable also from my viewpoint. As regards the Venetian documents I have chosen to analyse, their most recent edition is to be found in *Documenti veneziani*, < http://saame.it/ fonte/documenti-veneziani/ >.

very different areas is pertinent by virtue of the chronological coincidence of the phenomena under examination, of the relatively homogeneous character of the geographical areas in question, and of both areas' abundance of water which required constant monitoring and control[4]. Lastly, it is also pertinent, by virtue of the fact that, not only did many landowners in Ducal Venice between the ninth and tenth centuries generate the majority of their wealth from the neighbouring countryside, but also that this presence of landed property meant that they were firmly established among the network of political relationships of the Kingdom, meaning that they shared other interests, as well as those of property ownership[5]. This network formed a homogeneous environment also in terms of that particular aspect I am concerned with here, as I shall try to show.

In both geographical areas, possessing land "as aristocrats" was probably not very different from possessing land "as wealthy people": not all of the individuals who appear in the documents I have analysed may be classified as "aristocrats" as such[6]; however, given the correlation between landed wealth and socio-political prestige, they nevertheless all belonged to the governing classes of those societies they were part of, that is, they were all members of the groups shaping the political and economic landscape of the time. The monastic institutions, which are key to my research, were also part and parcel of that same world. Thus it would seem appropriate to consider landed property and the manner of organising it also as a means of socio-political consolidation and growth, or indeed decline. Land played an integral role in the shaping of the aristocracy and the socio-political elites of the ninth and tenth centuries.

A fundamental aspect of this research is the vocabulary used in the aforementioned documents: terms such as *curtis*, *sors, res territorie* and *casa massaricia*, not only represented, but largely created (in the strict sense of the word) structures and administrative forms, and guided a series of real economic, environmental and political processes. The vocabulary of land ownership tends not to include generic terms or formulas, particularly when it refers to effectively available natural resources such as river water[7]. On the

[4] For an example of the application of the comparative method to the history of the landscape, see Curtis, Campopiano, *Medieval land reclamation*.

[5] These interests became of such significance that they were to persist for centuries. For example, the monastery of Sant'Ilario continued to purchase property on the Venetian mainland up until the 14th century, when the monastic community had in fact already moved to the city of Venice: see Bolzonella, *Oltre i confini del dogado*, pp. 164-167.

[6] Albertoni, Fauliri, Sernagiotto, *Introduction*, in this same volume.

[7] On the question of the importance to be attributed to these lists of appurtenances, scholars tend to disagree: there are those who interpret them in literal terms, including Squatriti in *Water and society*, p. 85, according to whom the specification *cum usibus aquarum* is anything but a standard expression, since no other explanation could be found for its appearance and subsequent diffusion than that of a genuine, widespread interest in owning land that could in fact be irrigated. Also according to Schwinekörper, *Cum aquis aquarumque decursibus* (p. 24), the expressions used to describe appurtenances contained concrete elements that are not only

contrary, the different forms of possession are based on, and reflected in, the descriptive practice adopted by the notaries of the time, who must have been fully aware of the structuring impact of the words they chose to use. Of course, we must not forget that the methods adopted in landed property transactions to describe and identify the location of such landed properties, were the result of a dialectic between local customs and notarial practices on the one hand, and the perception of the organisation of space on the other. However, it was the very dynamic, polyvalent nature of such descriptive methods that proved to be particularly fruitful. In fact, the enumeration of everything that could be found on a plot of land – though not necessarily present at the time of the transaction – was adapted to the observable reality, and moulded to fit the existing or developing landscape. The notary described, with the aid of a specific formulary, potential reality[8]: this explains the creative role of the notary's language, since the said formulary was one of the instruments by means of which reality was represented[9]. This very same notarial vocabulary became an economic language shared by different geographical areas, and as such it facilitated business between land owners, regardless of their inevitable, and at times significant, differences.

While land constituted the basis of power, the quantity of land owned was not the only thing that counted. Indeed, the manner in which land was possessed could determine the fortunes or the political demise of institutions, families and individuals: between the ninth and eleventh centuries, it became increasingly clear that the political standing of competing aristocratic families was not only a question of the quantity of land they possessed, but also of the distribution and the consistency of the assets they controlled. In fact, «being wealthy did not necessarily equate with being politically powerful, since it was necessary to be rich in a stable manner within a given, not excessively scattered, political – and I may add, also geographical – space»[10]. From this viewpoint, establishing the shape, boundaries, structure and hierarchical ranking of the lands possessed, through their description and localisation, and more specifically by means of the terms used by the notaries registering the property deeds, was not only economically important, but it also had political significance in that it could serve to establish the foundations of a centre of local power. In other words, this was the clearest outcome of the perception, the construction and the representation that those groups and powers could produce of their own economic and political sphere of action. The landowners' expansionary ambitions could thus be reflected

of interest from a history of law perspective, but also in terms of the social and economic history of those areas.

8 As Feller, *Décrire la terre*, p. 491 points out: «Le notaire décrit, à l'aide du formulaire, une réalité potentielle».

9 *Ibidem*, p. 492: «Le formulaire simplifie le réel mais il permet encore d'y accéder, parce qu'il est l'un des actes par lesquels se construit sa représentation».

10 Provero, *Gli spazi politici*, p. 244.

in the organisation of property, which was «the first means of establishing a relational network» and testified «directly and faithfully to the political horizons» of the landowners[11]. In the ninth and tenth centuries, recording and describing land equated with the more complex purpose of declaring a right held or aspired to: it could certainly not be considered a value-free, insignificant act. Unsurprisingly, disputes over ownership were also based on the rituality of specific gestures that became legally binding through the expressive significance of notarial deeds. Within the context of a dispute between the monastery and a landowner from Cologno, the Abbot Pietro and the lawyer Giordano together declared, in January 865, that the man in question «contra lege et malo ordine introivit in res nostras in eodem loco et fundo Colonia, iusta fluvio Lambri, et inibi arbores monasterii nostri iniuste taliavit et terra nostri monasterii aravit, et inde nos desvestivit»[12]. The fact that someone had chopped down trees and ploughed the soil was enough to bring into question the legitimacy of the rights of ownership of that land, and to lead to the perpetrator of such actions being brought before the judge. In this context, what appears to emerge is the increasingly close correlation between the capacity to describe the land and to indicate tangible signs of its occupation, which were deemed as characterising that land, and the rights to use that same land. A person could not claim possession of a piece of land if incapable of indicating it in the field using a specific language designed for such a purpose.

The use of the same descriptive terms and expressions thus enables us to postulate that the landed properties at the time were shaped in rather similar ways, and took on forms that conformed to models of a basically comparable nature. Between the centre and the periphery, between Milan, the mainland and Venice, a standardised, largely shared stock of terms characterised the organisation and management of landed property in a similar manner in the ninth and tenth centuries.

2. *Landowners in the Venetian Lagoon and the Po Plain*

It should come as no surprise to find that the relationship between the Venetians and the inhabitants of the *Regnum* began from when the city was founded at the beginning of the ninth century[13], and that the first Venetian landowners acquired their properties within the political and economic boundaries of the *Regnum*. They included, for example, the female monastery of San Zaccaria, owner of lands in the areas around Padua and

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 243.
[12] ChLA², XCIV, n. 29, pp. 115-121 (865 I, Milan).
[13] Various recent studies have revealed the close-knit network linking Venice, the *regnum* and the Adriatic area. Such studies include: *Three empires*, ed. West-Harling; *The age of affirmation*, ed. Gasparri, Gelichi; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*.

Verona[14]. This land ownership strategy was consolidated during the course of the ninth century by a series of agreements between the Carolingian rulers and the Venetians, that also provided for a form of imperial protection of those properties situated on the mainland[15]. Others chose to settle in that area of uncertain confines to be found on the edge of the Venetian lagoon. The first to do so was the monastery of Sant'Ilario[16], which received lands in the peri-lagoon area, a belt of freshwater wetlands separating the mainland to the south-west from the lagoon itself[17]. Another was the monastery of Santo Stefano in Altino, which boasted an agricultural organisation similar to that of the manorial systems prevalent in the neighbouring mainland regions influenced by the Franks[18]. The properties located in these borderlands are nearly always framed by that lexical-descriptive system covering the broadest range of agricultural units, starting with the commonest terms adopted, namely *res territorie*, *res*, *case massaricie* and *sortes*. Those Venetians possessing property on the mainland, whether in the immediate area next to the lagoon or further away from the coast, quickly mastered the terminology of land ownership used in those borderlands and trading regions. This terminology was comprehensible to those with whom they wished to stipulate property deals, namely the landowners on the mainland. Theirs was a shared vocabulary, a common language, that utilised the same forms and clauses employed to describe the landed properties situated within the *Regnum*, and this ended up giving Venetian land ownership in the ninth and tenth centuries a similar administrative form and structure to that found on the mainland.

In 839, the Emperor Lothar made a gift to the abbey of Sant'Ilario of the *curticella* of *Pladanum*, together with its appurtenances as fully listed, and «cum suis circumdatis lateribus»[19]. The places mentioned in the deed, although no longer existing, were located in that peri-lagoon belt ("gronda

[14] In regard to the female monastery of San Zaccaria, founded in the early ninth century, see Rapetti, *Uscire dal chiostro*. A number of recent studies are collected in the work *«In centro et oculis urbis nostre»*, to which reference should be made also for the limited earlier bibliography. Of these studies, the work by Modzelewski entitled *Le vicende della «pars dominica»* offers an important account of the history of the convent's ownership of landed property.

[15] Gasparri, *The government*, pp. 89-91.

[16] In the year 819, the monastic community left its original home on the island of San Servolo, and thanks to a generous donation from the duke Agnellus Particiacus, it settled in an area near present-day Mira, on the edge of the lagoon: see Rapetti, *Il doge e i suoi monaci*; Corrò, Moine, Primon, *Setting the scene*.

[17] Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali*, p. 59.

[18] The most recent edition is to be found at < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-7/ >.

[19] The list includes «capella in honore Sancti Petri constructa et decimis ad se pertinentibus, et massariciis vel terris seu vineis atque silvis, pratis, pascuis, campis acervis, fluminibus, rivis molendinis, portubus, ripatibus, negotiis, tholoneis, cum omnibus quoque ad ipsum dictum portum vel curticellam pertinentibus, cum suis circumdatis lateribus». It should be noted that the *circumdata latera*, that is, the confines of the property, are constituted by a similar number of water courses, as specified in the subsequent lines: see MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 1, pp. 119-122 (839 V 9, Pavia).

lagunare") of land situated between the city of Venice and the *Regnum,* where Sant'Ilario's estate was first extended. The document in question appears rather suspect, however, and is perhaps a forgery produced in the early fourteenth century during a dispute between the monastery and the Venice Commune, when the latter challenged the monastery's ownership of that area. The monks responded by claiming that they had enjoyed possession of the land, unchallenged (in their view), for many years[20]. Even though the document is devoid of evidentiary worth, and was perhaps not even produced during the hearing, it is nevertheless interesting to note that, in fourteenth century Venice, a ninth century Venetian estate was described in those terms, using the descriptive model characteristic of the ancient estates to be found on the mainland; a model deemed sufficiently plausible as to be submitted to the court. The boundaries system used in this deed is that of the centralised structure type: the settlement, known as the *curticella*, represented the centre, and would define the limits of the surrounding area. The *circumdata latera* were the physical boundaries of that area, but they were not precisely identified on the ground. This made it possible to avoid what was probably the difficult enumeration of the plots of land within the property complex described in the formula: this enumeration could have been counterproductive in a legal dispute. Instead, the focus was placed on the «centralising power» assigned by local customs to certain material elements[21]; in this particular case, the small *curtis* and the chapel.

The geomorphological characteristics and hydrography of the two geographical areas in question played a significant part in the processes shaping land ownership within those areas. A line of springs running from west to east divides the Po Plain into two different pedological areas: the first area, lying to the north of that line, consists mainly of highly-permeable soils, and is characterised by an ancient, rather close-knit series of settlements; while the second area, to the south of the line, is one of rather impermeable sub-soil strata, where the presence of landed properties remained rather scant until well into the twelfth century. At present, as in the ninth century, the centre and hinterland of Milan straddle this spring line[22]. Both the Venetians and the Milanese enjoyed a close, at times turbulent, relationship with the numerous watercourses, springs and, in the case of Venice, also the salty waters of the lagoon, which formed an integral part of the productive environment and a fundamental resource for the inhabitants of that area. The importance of this vital resource, both in itself and as a source of gainful employed by

[20] Sopracasa, *Sui falsi del monastero*, pp. 129-131; in the author's view, the local area references and place names themselves, traceable to the twelfth century at the very earliest, appear to suggest that the document in question is a forgery. See also Moine, Corrò, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali*, pp. 62-64.
[21] See Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*, pp. 22-23.
[22] In regard to these aspects, see Rapetti, *La terra degli uomini*, pp. 27-28. For any analysis of the hydrological structure of the Venice area, see Corrò, Moine, Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia*.

the local population for other purposes, is clear from the somewhat troubled hydrographic developments in the Venetian area immediately outside the city, which are, however, not easily reconstructed. The instability of Venice's watercourses had a negative impact on the consolidation of the names of small places (microtoponyms) and points of reference, and resulted in constant, at times substantial, conflict owing to the difficulty of establishing boundaries once and for all. In that situation, several large landowners in the Venice area also utilised and organised the saltwater wetlands, which still dotted the peri-lagoon belt, using methods developed over the course of centuries, to fish, gather aquatic plants and "cultivate salt"[23].

Between 803 and 875, the Milanese monastery of Saint Ambrose extended its own landholdings, both in the plains surrounding the city and in the area towards the mountains. At this point, I would like to examine the documents available concerning certain villages[24] situated in Milan's hinterland[25], where there is clear evidence of the ancient presence of ecclesiastic landowners from Milan and of lay landowners who, on the contrary, were not inhabitants of the city. Their presence both above and below the spring line enables us to make a reasonable comparison with those areas possessing the same pedological characteristics, where in the ninth and tenth centuries Venetians acquired both land and water, as we shall see.

The documents from the monastery of Saint Ambrose classify the villages in question as *locus et fundus*, *vicus*, *vicus et fundus*, terms that are also used alternatively for the same places, without there appearing to be any significant difference between the terms. Carpiano is classified as a *vicus*, Gnignano – nowadays a district of Carpiano – is referred to as a *locus et fundus* and also as a *vicus*; Cologno Monzese is a *vicus et fundus*[26]. These terms indicated actual villages, that is, stable settlements generally of a compact nature, surrounded by a clearly delineated area, with their various appurtenances, a detailed network of small places, public and local roads, and fairly stable borders. The localisation of properties within this organisational framework followed dissimilar criteria; houses were named after

[23] Minotto, *Lavorare l'acqua e la terra*; Minotto, *Raccontare, disegnare, incidere*; Squatriti, *Water and society*, p. 74.

[24] These villages are: Cologno Monzese, situated on the high plain, and Gnignano and Carpiano in the lowlands. For a classical study of the holdings of Saint Ambrose in Cologno see Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni*. Also see the important work by Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*.

[25] Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 482, with regard to the analysis by Horden and Purcell, in their work *The corrupting sea,* concerning the concept of *dispersed hinterland*, argues that the same analytical categories may be applied to the Milanese case: «so should hinterland be thought of as a complex set of short distances and definite places». This clearly shows the need to reconsider the historians' belief that those areas, sometimes a considerable distance away, were totally dependent on the city for their requirements, through long-distance trading with that city.

[26] For example *in vico Carpiano*: ChLA², XCIV, n. 8, pp. 38-41 (812 IV, Carpiano); for Gnignano, *in loco et fundo Noniano*: ChLA², XCIV, n. 13, pp. 58-60 (824 I 21, Pavia), but also *in vico Villa Noniano*, ChLA², XCIV, n. 16, pp. 68-70 (832 VI, Milan); for Cologno Monzese *vicus et fundus*: ChLA², XCV, n. 21, pp. 82-84 (862 III 2, Saint Ambrose Monastery, Milan).

the tenants[27], whereas fields were identified by the boundaries created by microtoponyms, in an area that was evidently already fairly well structured in the ninth century.

3. *A developing agrarian landscape*

In the Venetian documents, there appears to be a less pressing need to identify the exact location of those landed properties being passed down through the generations, even though such a need existed nevertheless. Obviously the different «historical system of documentation» characteristic of early medieval Italy[28], counted in this regard, but so did the specific features of a clearly less dense, more fluid network of settlements, that was definitely not as well-established as that of the area around the city of Milan at that time. The large estate donated by the Doge Agnello Particiaco to the abbey of Sant'Ilario in the year 819, as confirmed by the Doge's son Giustiniano ten years later[29], was delimited precisely by the rivers and streams surrounding it, which constituted its boundaries[30]. Very little was written about what was actually contained within those boundaries, which were soon to become extremely unstable, as the monks were to discover in the centuries thereafter. The reason for this was that the watercourses developed in an irregular fashion, often wandering from their existing paths or turning into marshes. This does not mean, however, that the area in question was totally devoid of administrative organisation. In 819, the founding nucleus resulted as centring on a religious building – a chapel «in honore Beati Yllarii Confessoris Christi

[27] As shown, for example, in the document dated 856 mentioned in note 1: ChLA2, XCV, n. 9, pp. 41-45 (856 III 3). Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*, p. 25, called these place names «boundary marks of a centralised character, centres from which a specific, legally recognised boundary radiates».

[28] On the nature of the Venetian documents, see Santoni, *Il documento privato*, pp. 79-83.

[29] A digital version of both documents is available at: < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-2/ > e < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/ >. The evidence from the year 829 is briefly analysed by Santoni in *Il documento privato*, p. 79, which identifies the distinctive feature of Venetian documents from the Carolingian period as being the use of the Ancient Roman *breviarium*, «which lists the *res* included in the conspicuous donation to the monastery and that closely recalls the model adopted in late antiquity»: «a list of corresponding items», represented here by the list of plots of land.

[30] «Concessa igitur predicta capella Beati Yllarii Confessoris Christi cum suis territoriis, finibus ac terminibus, cum omnibus appendenciis vel adiacentiis suis, quod est super totum circumdatis lateribus. Id est a flumine qui dicitur Clarino percurrente usque in canale qui dicitur Gambararia et inde in fossa qui dicitur Ruga ac deinde in canale de Luva percurrente in Seuco et usque in palutibus aquis salsis. Similiter a predicto flumine Clarino descendente a locum ubi dicitur Aurilia et Finalibus descendente per canale qui dicitur Avisa perexiente in supradicto flumine Hune ac deinde percurrente usque in pallutibus similiter tribus millibus aquis salsis»: see < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/ >. The 1,200 libra of business investment and the 120 libra of silver granted by Giustiniano to the monasteries of San Zaccaria and Sant'Ilario, according to Horden and Purcell (in *The corrupting sea*, p. 167) represent the first clear sign of the wealth that Venice had already accumulated by the beginning of the ninth century thanks to its trading of grain, salt and slaves in exchange for products from the Orient.

super flumine qui dicitur Une (...) cum suis territoriis, finibus ac terminibus, cum omnibus appendenciis vel adiacentiis suis, quod est super totum circumdatis lateribus»[31]. Ten years later, alongside the chapel «cum suis territoriis», another well-organised arrangement was donated to the monastery, consisting of fifteen *massarici*, some of which were clearly located adjacent to one another. These agricultural nuclei, each of which was classified as a «locus cum suis terminibus», were situated in seven separate places, each with its own name. This source also provides further invaluable information concerning the fifteen massarici *cum suis terminibus,* which were in turn encircled by a series of watercourses constituting the borders of the property as a whole: «Hec prenominatis locis cum suis terminibus hac circunda in lateribus, hoc est (...) ab uno laterio qui dicitur Cleusca, alio latere pluvega qui dicitur Mamoniga, tercio latere pluvega qui dicitur Tarvisiana, quarto latere Plank percorente»[32].

Thus the property as such was of a compact form, carefully located in an area part of which at least was at the time sparsely populated and devoid of any human settlement or significant landholding; a property circumscribed by a series of carefully listed rivers which, while following a rather moving course, nevertheless had become an integral part of the local area to the extent that the names of rivers together with certain place names containing a reference to water, are still identifiable today (Caltana, Stornapietra, the Pionca and Volpino rivers). The use of natural features to delimit land in a fairly accurate manner would seem to point to a desire to rationalise the natural environment, and this reflects a desire to order natural spaces and their respective utilisation in a hierarchical manner. Giving names to borders was already, in itself, a way of lending a clear form and hierarchical function to the space within those borders; and this internal organisation was given by the small agricultural units, called *massaricia*[33] here as well, just like in the Milan area. Agrarian language was not being used here in an undefined or generic manner, since the *massaricia* form of agricultural organisation was not the only one present in the Venice area. In a document dating from that same 829, registered in Treviso and concerning a small group of properties – a *sors* (a plot of land) situated in the Treviso area very close to the lands of Sant'Ilario – the underlying principle of the space granted to the tenant (a certain Mengolo) was in keeping with the farming practices adopted in the neighbouring area, as the wording of the document suggests[34].

[31] < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-2/ >.
[32] < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/ >.
[33] See Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*, pp. 20-21.
[34] The land rented to the tenant farmers is described as follows: «idest sorte et cespito uno in suprsctipto vigo Tercio qui pertinet ad casa beato Sancto Martino (...) cum arialeis, curtis, urtis, vineis, teris aratoriciis, pratis, selvis, pascois et palutibus». The tenant farmer received a «potestatem laborandi et inibi casa edificandi et eam ad colto tenendi et ipsas vites bene colendi et cultificandi sicut aliorum qui in circoito bene colida sunt»; see ChLA², LIX, n. 6, pp. 37-39

The ninth and tenth century Venetian sources, like their Milanese equivalents, often employed the expression *case massaricie* to indicate a specific form of agrarian organization. There is evidence of this in the aforementioned document from the year 829, which mentions specific farm undertakings, each organised around the dwelling that also served as the focal point for the management of the farm itself, that is, of the plots of land spread over the farming area. No specific mention is made of either the location or size of these plots, or of the *massarici* as a whole, probably because they were easily identifiable in what was perhaps a recently developed farming area. In fact, the tone of the document would seem to suggest the existence of farming settlements resulting from a general, organised operation involving the cultivation of that area. Without a doubt, the listing of the various categories of farmland pertaining to each of the *massarici* (vegetable gardens, vineyards, arable land, woodland, pastures etc.) is a good example of the potential reality that the notary, by choosing such terms and expressions rather than others[35], helped to bring into existence. They were descriptive formularies, but ones that reflected the reality that the notary saw, or believed could emerge[36]. Other *case massaricie* can be found in a noted document considered to be Venetian even though registered in Verona, namely the will of the Marquis Milone dating from the year 914[37]. This donation was the first act of a long, at times complicated, process that led to the monastery of San Zaccaria in Rialto gaining control over the *curtes* of Petriolo and of *Cona*, situated in the Monselice area. These were traditional manorial properties complete with their own fortifications, chapels and oratories, one or two administrative units (*domocoltili* – that is, those parts of the property managed directly by the owner) and the *pars massaricia*, consisting of *casali cum casis et rebus*. The long list of the settlements' appurtenances is of a summary rather than formulary nature, as is apparent from the specificity of some of the items mentioned, first and foremost the olive groves[38]. It is interesting to note that in the transfer of the property to a Venetian owner, no significant change is visible in the

(829 VI, Treviso). The monastery of San Teonisto at Casier near Treviso, which owned the land in question, was a donation from Lothar I to the Veronese monastery of San Zeno, as revealed by Louis II's deed of confirmation dated August 853: MGH, DD Lu II, n. 13, p. 88-91 (853 VIII 24, *curte Auriola*).

35 «de rebus proprietatis mee quod habere et ad meis manibus detinere visus sum prope se invicem choherente quod sunt inter totum massaricias quindecim. Primo loco fundo qui dicitur Bursino cum casis, curtis, ortis, vineis, teris, silvis et pascuis ad se pertinentibus prope loco qui dicitur Stornapetra. Secundo loco qui dicitur Cautana cum casis, curtis, ortis, terris, silvis et pascuis ad se pertinentibus. Tercio loco qui vocatur Storpetho, capite firmante in Cautenella cum casis, curtis, ortis, terris, vineis, silvis et pascuis ad se pertinentibus». Note that no mention is made of the *usus aquarum*, which evidently were not part of the appurtenances (< https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/ >).

36 See note 8 above.

37 The latest edition can be found at < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-8/ >.

38 The *sedimina* were characterised by «curtes, ortos et viridiarios suos, cum olivetas et pomiferas supra se abentis» (< https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-8/ >).

organisation of this farm[39], or of the other important estate situated at Ronco all'Adige[40].

In the year 954, another major Venetian monastery – Santa Trinità di Brondolo, situated in the parish of Chioggia – received «curtem unam domuicultilem (...) in loco et fundo Bagnolo» comprising two chapels, the manor house «et cum casis massariciis et omnibus rebus pertinentibus»[41]. The large *curtis*, comprising one hundred *case massaricie* run by *liberi homines,* and a further twenty-five entrusted to *servi casati*, was enclosed within what appears to have been a circle of natural elements such as rivers and streams, marshes, ditches, banks and roads, which together created a complex network of microtoponyms. Actual boundary markers also existed, in the form of wooden blocks, boundary stones, and an old tower (*turris Vetus*) built and probably used to complete and consolidate the property's boundaries[42].

Of course, there were admittedly certain differences between the two cases, some of a substantial nature. For example, the documents from Saint Ambrose, whilst containing summary lists of *res territorie*, also offered extremely detailed descriptions of the properties in question. In the case of the *case massaricie* (manors) being sold, the name of the tenant was often indicated, and on occasion even the boundaries of the individual plots of land constituting the manors in question. The degree of detail was proportionate to the greater human presence in the countryside around Milan compared to that in the area of Venice[43]. In fact, in those areas characterised by a high density of

[39] Of course, the Petriolo estate experienced exactly the same changes that were to lead to the disappearance of the manorial undertakings. On this question, see Rapetti, *Dalla* curtis *al* dominatus loci.

[40] On 10th July 955, Milone, the Count of Verona, gifted Ronco manor and castle to the monastery: ASVe, San Zaccaria, folder 28, n. 2; a recent edition can be found at < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-16/ >. With regard to the matter of the Ronco all'Adige lands and the reorganisation process implemented in the late twelfth century, see Rapetti, *Uscire dal chiostro*.

[41] «Curt[is] que vocator Bagnolo, cum capella Sancte Marie et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, cum mansione mea domnicale et cum casis, masariciis et omnibus rebus ad se pertinentibus, cum molendinis, piscationibus et cum venationibus et cum toloneis et cum silvis et paludibus, cum papulo et pasculo, herbatico et glandatico et cum omni utriusque sexus ad easdem cortem pertinentibus, quod sunt masaricias centum de liberis hominibus et viginti quinque de nostris propriis servis»: *Ss.Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo*, pp. 14-22 (954 January 30, Merlara); the most recent edition can be found at < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-15/ >. There are no complete studies of this monastery, the first records of which date back to the eighth century. Nevertheless, see the short work by Naccari, *Un'antica presenza benedettina*, and above all, Bolzonella, *Oltre i confini*, p. 32 regarding the deed of 954.

[42] Bagnoli di Sopra, in the province of Padua, is situated about thirty kilometres from Chioggia: see < http:// saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-15/ >, note 3.

[43] Naturally the Milanese documents too are characterised by a great many variants, for which a different, additional explanation may be given to the one I am offering. Balzaretti, in *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 192, appears to link the degree of detail of the descriptions of landed properties to the importance of the contracting parties: with regard to the exchange of a few plots of land in the Carpiano area, in the year 823, stipulated between a local landowner and Ernost, *vassus* of Lothar I, the author observes that «although the amount of land is small, the names of the owners who bounded it are all recorded».

properties and the considerable fragmentation of land ownership, it was obviously more important to indicate precisely the boundaries and dimensions of the properties being sold. Using this parameter, what emerges is that the Milan area was much more densely populated, and had been populated for longer, than the countryside around Venice. Evidence of this is provided by the density of small places dotting around the Milanese hinterland, and also by the statements given by the owners of properties: for example, in an exchange of property in the area of Cologno Monzese stipulated in 865 between Saint Ambrose and a local landowner, Gaidulfo of Cologno, each of the nine plots exchanged are indicated not only by the position of the property, but also by all boundaries, the sizes of the individual plots and their overall dimensions[44]. In this context, the setting out of the boundaries delimiting the individual plots of land appears to be a means of consolidating the ownership of the land. Through this complicated localisation of the properties in question, the land area was "declared"; and this act was to assume the even more complex significance of a declaration of a right, that is, the right to utilise the resources of the land. I believe that viewing things from this perspective would explain why the boundaries of two small fields situated in Grignano, donated in the year 824 to the goldsmith Arifuso, were described in such a precise manner[45].

The high number of landowners, the substantial fragmentation of the land, and the growing complexity of the rural landscape, were all reflected in the constant, detailed activity of land re-parcelling, which was specifically designed to mitigate said fragmentation and which resulted in an increasingly close-knit network of social and economic relations between the citizens of the town and country dwellers. Another example is that of the small-scale exchange of property stipulated by a certain Giovanni *qui et vocatur Bavo* of Gninano with Saint Ambrose in December 856, obtaining just two plots of land as a result; one of these two plots, however, was surrounded on three sides by other land that he already owned[46].

4. *Rivers and other waters between town and country*

Water was of vital importance to landowners: its relative abundance in the countryside around both Milan and Venice, together with the tendency to flood of lands with only a slight slope, such as the ones in question here, called

[44] ChLA², XCV, n. 31, pp. 12-17 (865 IX-866 IV, Cologno).
[45] ChLA², XCIV, n. 13, pp. 58-60 (824 I 21, Pavia). To get an idea of the complexity of land ownership in this case, suffice it to say that around the two bell-towers there were a number of vineyards belonging to Arifusus, two or three public roads, a notary's lands, and the lands of two religious establishments.
[46] ChLA², XCV, n. 11, pp. 49-51 (865 XII 1, Saint Ambrose Monastery, Milan): «ad invicem recepit Iohannes de predicto Petrone abbate (...) duas petzias (...) in suprascripto vico et fundo Iunniano: prima petzia casella et curticella cum pumario et prato seu campo insimul se tenente (...) de tribus partis ipsius Iohanni, da quarta tenente in via publica».

for a genuine system of water management in these areas. The governance of surface waters through the building of canals, enabled the water to be used both for irrigational and milling purposes. It also permitted any potential flooding of land to be kept in check; such flooding was particularly frequent in the Venetian peri-lagoon belt ("gronda")[47], although not unknown in the Milan hinterland as well; and last but not least, it provided access to markets by means of river navigation. All of this information clearly emerges from both the Milanese and Venetian documents. The monasteries were constantly searching for access to nearby rivers in order to ensure the irrigation of their farmland, to organise the transport of goods, and to carry out milling operations about which we have little information, but which must have been of key economic importance in virtue of the presence of two towns whose demand for produce was growing.

The Venetian monastery of Sant'Ilario paid constant heed to the numerous rivers that flowed through its land, and that bordered those plots donated to the monastery in 819 and 829[48]. Already by that time there must have been a number of mills located along some of the rivers mentioned in the documents, as can be deduced from the Doge's granting the monks assurances that their lands would be «quiete et libere ab omni factione publica tam de nostris molenariis quam de piscatoribus sive colonis»[49]; and it is likely that the monks owned their own mills, or were shortly to build a number of them, in order to meet the needs not only of their own community, but above all of the nearby town's population. Access to rivers was another important factor in any assessment of the overall quality and arrangement of farmlands and their material structures. In the case of the monks of Sant'Ilario, these rivers represented important routes linking the mainland to the city of Venice: freight terminals that they took advantage of using their own infrastructure. The documentary sources offer a wealth of information on the presence of river ports, two of which were situated *iuxta monasterium* (close to the monastery), and appear to be an integral part of a network of activities organised by the monks along the trade routes, including the operation of hydraulic works, the building of depots, and the provision of hospitality in their own *xenodochia* (a hospice for pilgrims). Later sources also mention the river rights, the riparian rights and the levies enjoyed by the monks[50].

Mills were built on San Zaccaria's land from the ninth century onwards, and were donated to the monastery, as appurtenances, in 829; the *breviarium de vineis vel teritoriis vel reliquis speciebus* introducing the list of sold as-

[47] Squatriti, *Water and society*, pp. 66-79.
[48] See the text corresponding to notes 29-30 above.
[49] Document mentioned in < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-2/ >.
[50] In regard to all of this, see *Ss. Ilario e Benedetto*, pp. XIII-XIV; possession of the two river ports mentioned in the text was reported at the beginning of the twelth century, although it may be fair to presume that such facilities dated from the tenth century (p. XIV). The monastery possessed perhaps two *xenodochia* in Treviso.

sets, included «aquimulos rotas duas quas habere visus sum de Petro tribuno genero quidem Rosaly tribuno», as well as «navigia sceu lacos ubi aquimulos hedifficati fuerint una cum piscationibus et avium captionibus suis»[51]. In these coastal lowlands with their delicate hydrographic equilibrium, the inhabitants caught birds, fished, cut grass, and probably also felled trees and raised livestock. In other words, a rural economy can be identified in which the cultivation of cereals, livestock farming and other farming activities, together with fishing and hunting, were all an integral part of everyday life; the local economy was not limited to forestry management and livestock farming, but was capable of exploiting all available resources. Even in the absence of specific information in this regard, we may presume that within such an economy, the search for land suitable for cultivating cereals nevertheless remained of prime importance, since it was necessary to provide food for the city under construction.

The Milanese landowners were equally interested in the rivers that flowed around the city, from north to south, in particular the river Lambro: access to the latter must have been of specific economic value when it came to the purchase and sale of land[52]. In fact, it is no surprise to discover that the lands owned by Saint Ambrose near Milan, nearly all of which were between 10 and 15 kilometres from the city centre, were located in economically important areas in terms of local produce and ease of communication[53]. A division of property deed in Cologno mentions clearly identifiable boundary markers comprising a series of ditches, one of which is classified as ancient, a number of *insulae*, a bridge over the river Lambro, and several mills[54]. The Milanese monks were aware of the importance of producing cereals for the nearby city's market, and this can be correlated to their ownership of milling facilities. The frequency of issue of land certificates for arable land in villages near Milan, particularly where the monastery was either the only or the largest landowner at the time[55], confirms that it may well have had a particular interest in cereal production, which would be consistent, moreover, with what we know about the crop practices adopted by other western monasteries at that time.

[51] See also < https://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/ >.
[52] Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 498.
[53] Once again, the language of landownership helps us understand economic processes that would otherwise be difficult to identify: Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 512, suggests that terms such as *curtis* and *cella*, frequently reported in this area, must be interpreted as nodes of an interconnected network.
[54] See ChLA², XCV, n. 21, pp. 82-84 (862 III 2, Saint Ambrose Monastery, Milan). It is not clear whether the *insulae* were simple sandy islets created by the diversions of the river Lambro or instead dwellings that were partly built on.
[55] Numerous terms refer to this: *terra aratoria*, *terra arabilis*, *terra apertas aratorias*, *campus*, *longoira*; see Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose*, p. 503.

5. *Conclusions*

In conclusion, the environmental dimension of land ownership has to be considered a natural aspect as well as the object of a series of practices, economic decisions and forms of allocation of the corresponding resources, all of which are deeply cultural in nature and thus subject to change over the course of time and in different places. Early Venetian society was, in the ninth century, part of the *Regnum Italiae*, which boasted a much larger and more complex cast of actors than that of the "little world" of the Venetian lagoon. The maritime expansion of the Duchy of Venice, which was still not exclusively focused on the Eastern Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries, did not preclude the pursuit of structural ties with the landowners of the *Regnum*. These new actors needed a shared economic language, and more specifically a shared language regarding landownership, which would enable them to establish mutual relations; and this shared language was based on very similar verbal forms, adopted (and adapted) to describe land and landed property. The initial hypothesis proposed here, that it was the notaries' language and expressions that shaped the landscape, creating it even where it did not yet exist, helps us get a better understanding of how structured Venetian land ownership evolved along the same lines as the contemporary administrative models adopted on the mainland.

Works cited

The age of affirmation. Venice, the Adriatic and the Hinterland between the 9th and 10th centuries, ed. S. Gasparri, S. Gelichi, Turnhout 2017.
G. Albertoni, M. Fauliri, L. Sernagiotto, *Introduction*, in this same volume.
M. Ansani, *Pratiche documentarie a Milano in età carolingia*, in Ianuensis non nascitur sed fit. *Studi per Dino Puncuh*, Genova 2019, I, pp. 95-112.
R. Balzaretti, *The Lands of Saint Ambrose. Monks and society in early medieval Milan*, Turnhout 2019.
M. Bolzonella, *Oltre i confini del dogado. L'espansione territoriale degli enti ecclesiastici veneziani nel Padovano (secoli IX-XIV)*, Roma 2022.
E. Corrò, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia. Archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Firenze 2017.
E. Corrò, C. Moine, S. Primon, *Setting the scene: the role of Sant'Ilario monastery in early medieval Venice in light of recent landscape studies*, in *Venice and its neighbors from 8th to 11th century*, ed. S. Gasparri, S. Gelichi, Leiden 2017, pp. 116-141.
D. Curtis, M. Campopiano, *Medieval land reclamation and the creation of new societies: comparing Holland and the Po Valley, c. 800-c. 1500*, in «Journal of Historical Geography», 44 (2014), pp. 93-108.
L. Feller, *Décrire la terre en Italie centrale au Moyen Âge*, in *Le village médiéval et son environnement. Études offertes à Jean-Marie Pesez*, ed. L. Feller, P. Mane, F. Pipioner, Paris 1998, pp. 491-507.
S. Gasparri, *The government of a peripheral area. The Carolingians and north-eastern Italy*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its rulers*, ed. C. Gantner, W. Pohl, Cambridge 2021, pp. 85-93.
P. Horden, N. Purcell, *The corrupting sea. A study of Mediterranean history*, Oxford 2000.
In centro et oculis urbis nostre*: la chiesa e il monastero di San Zaccaria*, ed. B. Aikema, M. Mancini, P. Modesti, Venezia 2016.
L. Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra. Sistemi di confinazione e di misurazione dei boschi nell'alto Medioevo*, in *Il bosco nel medioevo*, ed. B. Andreolli, M. Montanari, Bologna 1988, pp. 15-34.
C. Mantegna, *Il documento privato di area longobarda in età carolingia*, in *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, ed. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, B. Zeller, Zürich 2009, pp. 57-71.
A. Minotto, *Lavorare l'acqua e la terra. L'incolto produttivo nella gronda lagunare di Venezia alla fine del Medioevo*, tesi di dottorato, Ca' Foscari, Venezia 2013-2014.
A. Minotto, *Raccontare, disegnare, incidere l'acqua e la terra. Storie di geografia popolare nella laguna meridionale di Venezia nel medioevo*, in *Les zones humides méditerranéennes hier et aujourd'hui. Le zone umide mediterranee ieri e oggi*, ed. M. Franchomme, C. Labeur, D. Quatrida, R. Simonetti, Padova 2014, pp. 29-46.
K. Modzelewski, *Le vicende della «pars dominica» nei beni fondiari del monastero di San Zaccaria di Venezia (sec. X-XIV)*, in «Bollettino dell'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano», 4 (1962), pp. 42-79; 5-6 (1963-1964), pp. 15-63.
C. Moine, E. Corrò, S. Primon, *Paesaggi artificiali a Venezia. Archeologia e geologia nelle terre del monastero di Sant'Ilario tra alto Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Sesto Fiorentino (FI) 2018.
A. Naccari, *Un'antica presenza benedettina: SS. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo*, in «Chioggia», 4 (1990), pp. 63-78.
L. Provero, *Gli spazi politici dell'aristocrazia nella Lombardia carolingia e postcarolingia (secoli IX-X)*, in *Un ponte tra il Mediterraneo e il Nord Europa. La Lombardia nel primo millennio*, ed. G. Albini, L. Mecella, Milano 2021 (Quaderni di SSMD, 4), pp. 233-247.
A. Rapetti, *Dalla* curtis *al* dominatus loci*: la proprietà fondiaria nel Milanese tra IX e XII secolo*, in *Aziende agrarie nel Medioevo. Forme della conduzione fondaria nell'Italia nord-occidentale (secoli IX-XV)*, ed. R. Comba, F. Panero, numero speciale del «Bollettino della società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo», 123 (2000), pp. 13-57.
A. Rapetti, *La terra degli uomini. Campagne dell'Italia medievale*, Roma 2012.
A. Rapetti, *Il doge e i suoi monaci. Il monastero dei Santi Ilario e Benedetto di Venezia fra laguna e terraferma nei secoli IX-X*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 18 (2017), 2, pp. 1-26.
A. Rapetti, *Uscire dal chiostro. Iniziative di riforma e percorsi di autonomia di un monastero femminile (Venezia, secolo XII)*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 2, pp. 127-153.

G. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo. Cologno Monzese*, vol. 1, *Secoli VIII-X*, Milano 1968.
F. Santoni, *Il documento privato di area romanica in età carolingia*, in *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, ed. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, B. Zeller, Zürich 2009, pp. 73-84.
B. Schwinekörper, Cum aquis aquarumque decursibus. *Zu den Pertinenzformeln der Herrscherurkunden bis zur Zeit Ottos I.*, in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann*, ed. K.-U. Jäschke, R. Wenskus, Sigmaringen 1977, pp. 22-56.
A. Sopracasa, *Sui falsi del monastero veneziano dei Ss. Ilario e Benedetto (secc. IX-XIV)*, in «Storia di Venezia - Rivista», 2 (2004), pp. 127-146.
P. Squatriti, *Water and society. AD 400-1000*, Cambridge 1998.
Ss. Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio, ed. L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, Venezia 1965.
Ss. Trinità e S. Michele Arcangelo di Brondolo, vol. 2, *Documenti (800-1199)*, ed. B. Lanfranchi Strina, Venezia 1981.
Three empires, three cities: identity, material culture and legitimacy in *Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750-1000*, ed. V. West-Harling, Turnhout 2015.
V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine heritage, imperial present, and the construction of city identity*, Oxford 2020.
C. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche e conflitti. Tribunali e risoluzione delle dispute nella Toscana del XII secolo*, Roma 2000.

Anna Rapetti
University Ca' Foscari of Venice (Italy)
arapetti@unive.it
0000-0003-1769-4742

II

Aristocratic networks between center and peripheries

A Carolingian suite: the Supponids in Italy until the death of Lothar (814-855)

by Igor Santos Salazar

This chapter aims to interpret the political role and moral values that characterised the action of the first two generations of the Supponids (and in particular that of the count Adalgisus) in order to study how the emperors structured their relationship with some of the main families of the kingdom. As "resources" of the *publicum*, the members of this kin group were protagonists of political developments and social paths which gradually developed into a complex relationship that combined loyalty to the king with a strong aristocratic consciousness.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Italy; Brescia; Parma; Carolingians; kinship; governance.

Igor Santos Salazar, University of Trento, Italy, igor.santossalazar@unitn.it, 0000-0003-0980-9554

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Igor Santos Salazar, *A Carolingian suite: the Supponids in Italy until the death of Lothar (814-855)*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.10, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 141-160, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

ChLA², LXXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVIII, Italy LX, Modena, Nonantola 1, publ. G. Feo, M. Al Kalak, M. Mezzetti, M. Modesti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², XCIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCIII, Italy LXV, Parma 2, publ. C. Mantegna, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

Chronicon Moissiacense = *Chronicon Moissiacense*, ed. G. Pertz, Hannover 1826, pp. 280-313 (MGH, SS, 1).

DD B I = *I diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Roma 1903 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 35).

Dhuoda, *Liber manualis* = Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, ed. P. Riché, *Manuel pour mon fils*, SC 225, Paris 1975.

Gesta Berengarii = *Gesta Berengarii*, ed. P. von Winterfeld, Berlin 1899, pp. 354-403 (MGH, Poetae, 4/1).

MGH, ARF = *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1895 (MGH, SS rer. Germ, 6).

MGH, Astronomus, *Vita* = Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 280-555 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).

MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).

MGH, Concilia III = *Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1984 (MGH, Conc., 3).

MGH, DD LdF = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, ed. T. Kölzer, Wiesbaden 2016 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 2).

MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Shieffer, Berlin-Zürich 1966 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).

MGH, Notker, *Gesta Karoli* = Notker der Stammler, *Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, ed. H.F. Haefele, Berlin 1959 (MGH, SS rer. Germ, 12).

MGH, Thegan, *Gesta* = Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 168-277 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

Paschasius, *Vita Adalhardi* = Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita s. Adalhardi abbatis Corbeiensis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1852, coll. 1507-1556 (PL, 120).

Placiti I = *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, ed. C. Manaresi, Roma 1955 (FSI, 92).

1. *Introduction*

The Carolingian aristocracy has been the focus of much of the scholarship on ninth century society. It is worth noting the great transformations that this research topic has undergone, from the distant prosopographical works of Tellenbach and his school to the more recent *elite-turn*[1]. The latter has also opened up the field of investigation to strata of society that previously suffered marginalisation by virtue of the economic role and political agency of the lesser elite groups, which tended to be underestimated by those traditionally concentrated exclusively on the higher ranks of early medieval society. Furthermore, such historiographical developments have led to a certain

[1] Without claiming to be exhaustive I recall here at least: Tellenbach, *Zur Bedeutung*; Martindale, *The French Aristocracy*; Reuter, *The medieval Nobility*; Goetz, *Nobilis*; Airlie, *The aristocracy*. Among the many volumes published after the research project dedicated to *Les élites dans le haut Moyen Âge*, see *Les élites*; *Hiérarchie*; *Théorie et pratiques*.

conceptual ambiguity[2]: in many essays it is possible to observe a coexistence of the term *aristocracy* and the term *elite*, which, however, has favoured renewed approaches to the social articulation of Early Medieval dominant groups.

In the following pages the features that distinguish the political actions of the first two generations of Supponids will be analysed through confronting their role as public officials in the service of Lothar (and partly of Louis II[3]) with their aristocratic ethos. The former can be followed through the study of the kingdom's public sources (*capitularia*, diplomas and *placita*); the latter will be carried out approaching Dhuoda's *Liber Manualis*[4]. Its contents may be useful for deepening the moral values and political behaviour of families like the Supponids, called into the service of the emperor in the middle years of the ninth century. Both shed light on the forms of relationship between the sovereigns and his officials in Carolingian Italy.

Unlike other aristocratic families of the empire, the Supponids do not have a recent monographic study. More than a century has passed since Ippolito Malaguzzi Valeri published, in 1894, the first work entirely dedicated to the family[5]. In spite of this, the role played by the group during the ninth and the first decades of the tenth centuries – at that time, two Supponid women, Angelberga and Bertilla, attained the ranks of, respectively, empress and queen – means that the names of many members of this kin group appear in countless studies[6].

Going back to the deeds of the family can be a way to take a fresh look at the Italian aristocracy within the "Lothar moment"[7].

2. *A new family in the* regnum

The relevant political and social position acquired by the Supponids within the confines of the former *regnum Langobardorum* makes the documents and narratives that mention them extremely well known to the historiogra-

[2] Urderlined by Nelson, *Élites in the reign*, pp. 310-311.
[3] For the problems and challenges that the short chronological span of the investigation entails see Bougard in this volume.
[4] Dhuoda, *Manuel* (onwards cited as *Liber Manualis*).
[5] Malaguzzi Valeri, *I Supponidi*. I was able to consult the booklet kept in the Carducci House Library (Bologna) Busta 344.17, dedicated by the author to the poet.
[6] Malaguzzi Valeri himself warned, as early as 1894, how the Supponids had recalled «così assidue e diligenti le ricerche degli studiosi moderni». See now Bougard, *Les Supponides*, pp. 381-401; Bougard, *Le royaume*, *passim*; Lazzari, *Una mamma carolingia*, pp. 41-57 and Vignodelli, *Supponidi*, pp. 538-541; not forgetting the "portraits" of every single male member of the family in Hlawitschka, *Franken*, specially: pp. 110-111 (Adalgisus); 236-237 (Maurinus); 268-271 (Suppo and Suppo II), and the *Exkurs zur Genealogie der Supponiden*, pp. 299-309 and Cammarosano, *Nobili*, *passim*. For the Supponids active during the regnal years of Louis the Pious see also Depreux, *Prosopographie* in the following notes.
[7] See Bougard's contribution to this volume.

phy. In this paragraph, therefore, I will not add anything new to this dossier of information; instead, I will try to relate the data contained in the written sources to the general context of the empire (and in particular to Northern Italy), with the intention of anchoring the position of certain members of the family in times of trouble.

In February 814, Suppo, together with Adalhard of Corbie, *missus* of Charlemagne, took part in Spoleto in the resolution of some disputes involving the abbey of Farfa, located further south, in the territory of the Sabine. In the *placitum*, Suppo is mentioned as *comes palatii*[8]. Shortly before, King Pippin's death in Milan, on eight July 810, had caused some changes in the geometry of the succession arranged by Charlemagne in the *Divisio regnorum* (806). The kingdom of Italy was entrusted to Adalhard of Corbie, a regent who had to oversee the fate of the kingdom at least until 813, when Pippin's son Bernard arrived in Italy[9]. For all that, it does not seem too risky to assume the arrival of the first members of the family (Suppo and Mauringus) in the Italian peninsula coming from Alamannia[10], precisely when Adalhard had to manage the affairs of the *regnum* in the years between the death of Pippin and the royal proclamation of Bernard[11].

It was always alongside events relating to Bernard's politics that Suppo achieved a more prestigious position. After the death of Charlemagne (28th January 814), a troubled period began in the relations between the king and Louis the Pious, Bernard's uncle and new emperor, which resulted in disagreements that are recorded in the narrative sources. From the first contacts between both men, which were still cordial in the years 814-816, the relations gradually deteriorated towards an imperial policy that excluded Bernard from the succession games, which were intended by Louis the Pious to benefit only his direct descendants. Later on, the *Ordinatio Imperii* (817) clarified Bernard's suspicions; in it, the king of Italy was not even mentioned, pushed into a limbo loaded with dynastic consequences; in fact, Lothar, first-born son of Louis the Pious, was favored for the succession to the throne of Pavia[12].

[8] Placiti I, n. 28, pp. 85-89 (814 II, Spoleto), With Bernard acting as king, it is likely that Suppo's title refers to him as indicated by Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 408.
[9] On Pippin, Spes Italiae.
[10] As one might expect by the presence of their names in the confraternity book of the monastery of Reichenau, see Bougard, *Les Supponids*, p. 382, with further bibliography. For the issue of Frankish immigration in Italy, with special focus on the city of Lucca, see Predatsch, *Migration*.
[11] For the election of Bernard to the throne: MGH, ARF, p. 138, *ad annum* 813. In the spring of 813 Bernard appears as king in Italian charters: «Factum est anno dominorum Caroli et Bernardi regibus anno regni eorum in Italia», ChLA^2, LXXXVIII, n. 29, pp. 110-111 (813 VI 4). For this general context see Santos Salazar, *Governare*, pp. 84-85. For Adalhard, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 76-79.
[12] MGH, Capit. I, n. 136, 17, p. 273 (817): «Regnum vero Italiae eo modo praedicto filio nostro, si Deus voluerit ut successor noster exsistat, per omnia subiectum sit, sicut et patri nostro fuit et nobis Deo volente praesenti tempore subiectum manet».

This choice had, inevitably, a political consequence: the progressive isolation of Bernard and the repression of an aristocratic sector which was critical towards the choices of the emperor, guilty, in the opinions of authors such as Theodulf of Orléans, of wanting to dismantle the political guidelines and dynastic balances bequeathed by Charlemagne[13].

Bernard rebelled against his uncle in the autumn of 817. In doing so, he received important support from those men marginalised by the new imperial policies, as well as from a large part of the aristocracy active in Italy, where characters rooted in Lombardy, such as the archbishop of Milan, Anselmus, and the bishop of Cremona, Wolfoldus, seem to have played a prominent role in the rebellion[14]. However, narrative sources offer conflicting accounts: for the Astronomer (who wrote years later about these events), almost the entire Italian aristocracy had risen up with the king. In contrast, the *Annales* attributed to Einhard claim that the reports of a rebellion in Italy were only partly true, leaving the field open to a movement that was perhaps not so dangerous for the maintenance of imperial authority but which, nevertheless, provoked a lightning reaction from Louis[15]. It is at this point that Suppo seems to have played a key role in ruining the surprise effect of Bernard's revolt: the echo of the Italian king's "betrayal" soon reached the imperial court, thanks to him and to the bishop of Verona Ratold, another man coming from Alamannia.

With the death of the king, possibly due to the injuries sustained after his blinding[16], and with his *fideles* removed from positions of power, the emperor was able to launch the career of Lothar, entrusting him the *regnum*, even though the succession had to prove much more arduous than a mere turnover of men. In fact, Louis the Pious had to come to terms with his nephew's symbolic legacy. Lothar was not sent to Italy until he did, in 822, public penance for having caused Bernard's death, in the context of one of the most important assemblies of the empire, celebrated at Attigny. There, a reconciliation with some eminent personages of the Carolingian world who had been ostracised (such as Wala) was also staged[17].

And Suppo? When the Astronomer mentions him, he does so only by name, without indicating any title[18]. In turn the royal annals describe him as count of Brescia at the time he was elected as the head of the Duchy of Spoleto (822)[19]. The exact time of the appointment the Brescia office is therefore un-

[13] Depreux, *Das Königtum*, pp. 3-10. For the role of Teodulf in Bernard's revolt, *Shanzer*, «Stilo... memoriaeque mandavi», pp. 81-107.
[14] Noble, *The Revolt*, pp. 315-324; Jarnut, *Kaiser Ludwig*, pp. 637-648, Depreux, *Das Königtum*, pp. 1-24 and Innes, *Charlemagne's will*, pp. 833-855.
[15] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 29, p. 382; MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 22, pp. 210-212, and MGH, ARF, p. 147, *ad annum* 817.
[16] Other hypothesis in Airlie, *Making and Unmaking*, p. 137.
[17] de Jong, *The Penitential State* and Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, *passim*.
[18] MGH, Astronomus, 29, p. 382: «Quod cum certis nuntiis referentibus maximeque Rathaldo episcopo et Suppone certissime cognovisset».
[19] MGH, ARF, p. 157, *ad annum* 822: «Winigisus dux Spolitinus iam senio confectus habitu saeculari deposito monasticae conversationi se mancipavit ac non multo post tactus corporis

known and the documented mentions of Suppo coincides with the most turbulent years between Bernard's coup (817) and Lothar's arrival in Italy (822). Likewise, we do not know if he held the comital office together with, or after the commitment as *comes palatii*.

Looking at the protagonists of Bernards' rebellion and, above all, to the areas of their influence, one tends to suggest that Suppo was already count of Brescia before 817 rather than only afterwards, as though the title had been a reward for the service rendered to the emperor as a whistleblower of the rebels. In fact, one of them, Wolfoldus, was bishop of Cremona, a city which had lost its political autonomy since the Lombard era, when its *territorium* was divided between the royal court of *Sexpilas* (Sospiro) and Brescia. What more opportune position than that of Suppo who, as count acting all around the city of Brescia and its territory, had continuous channels of communication with the *gastaldus* at the head of the royal court of Sospiro, one of the main royal residences in the whole area[20]. Either had sufficient resources to gain first-hand and immediate knowledge of possible plots involving prominent members of the local society in Cremona[21]. Suppo's choice to support Louis the Pious against Bernard can be understood as a choice to remain faithful to a player of greater prestige, able to provide the family with greater resources than Bernard[22]. However, no documents that might shed light on this possibility are available.

3. *The soldier's tale*

The relationship between the Supponids, the highest offices of the *regnum*, and the Po plain did not end with the death of Suppo in 824. On the one hand, his brother Mauringus succeeded him in the comital office[23]. On the other, with the second generation of the family, the ties with the territory placed between Brescia, Sospiro and Parma gain in clarity, thanks to the actions of the two sons of Suppo, Maurinus and Adalgisus[24]. I will concentrate on the latter (but see Fig. 1).

infirmitate decessit; in cuius locum Suppo Brixiae civitatis comes substitutus est.». Suppo died two years later, MGH, ARF, p. 164, *ad annum* 824.

[20] For *Sexpilas*, a court also equipped with a *palatium*, and its importance in the administration of the fiscal assets on that sector of the Po plain see, Santos Salazar, *Governare*, p. 165 and pp. 192-200.

[21] The gastaldus of *Sexpilas* is documented in the years of Louis II but the court was probably administered by *gastaldi* early on.

[22] The reason to follow Bernard when Louis was only king in Airlie, *Charlemagne and the aristocracy*, p. 101, now published in Airlie, *Power and Its Problems*.

[23] For Mauringus, who was also appointed at the head of the Duchy of Spoleto but died shortly after, in 824, see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 200.

[24] Karl Ferdinand Werner was the first to notice the "Lombard" flavour of the name of Suppo's son, assuming a probable union of the progenitor with members of the Lombard royal family or with a daughter of Arechi II of Benevento: Werner, Hludovicus Augustus, p. 32. The bishop Adalgisus of Novara seems to have been a member of the kin: Vignodelli, *Supponidi*, p. 539.

Adalgisus appears to be mentioned for the first time in a *notitia* which gives an account of a dispute between the monastery of Nonantola (located in nowadays Emilia) and the *advocatus* of the count of Verona. The meeting, dated in March 827, took place to implement what had already been agreed between the parties, some time before, in the presence of Count Ragimundus and *Adelgis comis palaci missi domni imperatoris*[25]. Thus, in what is his first appearance in the sources, Adalgisus bears the same title that was his father's.

Almost eight years later, he is mentioned again, together with his brother Maurinus (now count of the palace), and the chaplain Ructald, directing the *inquisitio* that established, at the request of Lothar ("exiled" in Italy since the previous autumn[26]), that the Cremonese clergy should not supply carts and horses to the royal fisc[27]. It is worth noting that the diploma was redacted *in Sexpilas palacio regio*: beyond the methodological problems and the risks involved in correlating the presence of a sovereign with the place in which the documents were written, the relationship between the official duties of the count, his closeness to Lothar and his spaces of power (such as the palace of Sospiro), identified, once more, the members of the second generation of the family as key political players in the kingdom[28].

Shortly afterwards, Queen Cunegonda's testament (the widow of Bernard) shows the count active in Parma[29], the city from which came the vassal present in the new *inquisitio* conducted by Adalgisus (again obeying Lothar's orders) in 841 to ascertain the rights of the episcopal Church of Cremona over certain anchorages and docks located on the banks of the rivers Adda and Po[30]. On that day, the *comes* was accompanied by a large group of his vassals, which include, in addition to the vassal from Parma cited earlier, nineteen men from the territory of Brescia, the city where his father had been count some twenty years earlier. This whole set of information has traditionally

[25] A new edition of the document in Castagnetti, Ciaralli, *Falsari*, Appendice II, n. 2, pp. 274-277 (827 III 22, Ostiglia) This is a complex document, copied in the 11th century and heavily interpolated but, as far as the mention of the count is concerned, does not seem to pose any problems of interpretation.

[26] Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, pp. 299-339.

[27] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 25, pp. 98-99 (835 III 7, Sospiro). Maurinus is mentioned as *comes palatii* acting as *missus* of Lothar in 840, Placiti I, n. 44, pp. 144-147 (840 II, Lucca).

[28] For the methodological issues see McKitterick, *A King on the Move*, pp. 145-169.

[29] ChLA², XCIII, n. 2, pp. 19-23 (835 VI 16, Parma): in it, the count wrote his autograph signature. Cunegonda has been identified with the first generations of Supponids, but it seems safer to identify the woman with the maternal family of Bernard of Septimania, in which a Cunegonda is documented in the book written by Dhuoda as her mother-in-law: Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 10.5, p. 354. For this identification see Bougard, *Les Supponides*, pp. 386-387, who based his interpretation in the work of Christian Settipani. Nevertheless, a daughter of Adelgisus named Cunegonda was a nun in the monastery of San Salvatore of Brescia and, later, abbess of the monastery of San Sisto of Piacenza, founded by her sister Angelberga. Her name is mentioned several times, along with so many other members of his family, in the *Liber Memorialis* of San Salvatore; see *Der Memorial*, *passim*.

[30] Privilegia episcopii Cremonensis, n. 56 (841 III 22, Cremona), online edition available at: < https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/carte/vescovosicardo0841-03-22 > [23/12/2024].

served to assume that the Supponid was count in Parma with special political commitments in Brescia, able to extend, therefore, his influence to Cremona, where he is often mentioned conducting judicial affairs[31].

Brescia was a nodal point for understanding the relationship between the family of Adalgisus and the kingdom. The monastery of San Salvatore (later Santa Giulia), the richest in northern Italy, was (and still is) located within the walls of the city. Founded and endowed with fiscal lands by the Lombard king Desiderius and his wife Ansa, it had been entrusted to the government of their daughter Anselperga. Following the Carolingian conquest (774), the monastery went through a period of crisis, represented by the scarcity of documents in its archive up to the first quarter of the ninth century. After Bernard's death, and perhaps as a consequence of it, San Salvatore played, once again, an important role in politics. Louis the Pious ceded this ecclesiastical institution *in beneficium* to his wife Judith, as recalled by a *praeceptum* of the emperor which, in addition, confirmed Charlemagne's dispositions[32]. But Lothar changed his father's choice, restoring the government of the abbey to its abbesses in 837, in the years in which the Supponids were the main players both in the city and in that whole area of the *regnum*. At the same time, the family itself maintained an intimate relationship with San Salvatore, as is shown by the *Liber memorialis* of the monastery[33].

If the comital office of Adalgisus was never attached to a specific city (he was mentioned exclusively as *comes* or *missus*), his judicial and political action seems, instead, to gravitate around the centres that articulate a huge fiscal landscape placed in the heart of the Italian *Königslandschaft*[34]. Not by chance, Adalgisus is documented once again trying to resolve the judicial issues that were pitting the bishop of Cremona and some of the city's merchants against each other. After an inquisition conducted by Theodoric, counsellor of Louis II, the *placitum* was held in the presence of the count of the palace Hucpold, and the *comites* Adelgisus and Achedeus, when the reasons of the bishop of the Lombard city were acknowledged[35].

The participation in the exercise of the imperial justice, his closeness to San Salvatore (which controlled a very large body of public land as well), and his specialization in issues pertaining to the administration of the *fiscum publicum*

[31] Although the comital office of Adalgisus is never linked to a specific place, his signature in Cunegonda's charter has led to being considered by the historiography as count of the city of Parma, see Provero, *Chiese e dinastie*, pp. 46-47. The legal historian Silvio Pivano interpreted Adalgisus' relevant political position between Brescia, Cremona and Parma to hint to the existence of a Lombard-Emilian march, which is never mentioned in the sources, Pivano, *Il "comitato" di Parma*, pp. 1-80.

[32] MGH, DD LdF, n. 246, pp. 615-616 (819-825).

[33] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 35, pp. 112-115 (837 XII 15, Marengo). For the book, *Der Memorial*. The *inquisitio* organized to prepare the contents of Lothar's diploma, directed to acknowledge the possessions of San Salvatore, was conducted, among other bishops, by Adalgisus of Novara, himself a Supponid, strengthening the closeness between the group and the monastery.

[34] Santos Salazar, *Governare*, pp. 225-242.

[35] Placiti I, n. 56, pp. 193-198 (851 X-852 I 29, Pavia).

in the central sector of the river Po and eastwards, up to the gates of Ravenna[36], are the reasons for which he was the mentioned in the documents, underlining the political agency of the count within the "Lothar moment" in Italy.

The *ministerium* of Adalgisus went beyond Parma or Brescia and crossed even the boundaries of the kingdom: he accompanied Louis II during the trips and feasts celebrated in Rome, first in 844 when Lothar's son was crowned king, and when he was associated by his father to the imperial throne six years later. But his military and diplomatic duties did not end there[37]. Together with a good part of the italian aristocracy of Italy, the count took part in the expedition organized in 847 against the Muslims[38], and served in Chiusi as *missus* of Louis II in the thorny affair linked to Anastasius[39].

If all this is not enough to define the place Adalgisus was occupying in the social body of the *regnum*, it is sufficient to note the marriage of his son Suppo II to Berta, the daughter of the count of Piacenza Wifred and, above all, the marriage between his daughter Angelberga and the Emperor Louis II[40].

4. Ministri rei publice

The careers of these three generations of Supponids show their service in the government apparatuses of the empire as officials and brides[41]. The following pages intend to analyse in which way those duties can be put in relation with the conceptualisation of the *res publica* carried out by Carolingian intellectuals; that is, to what extent the conception of the "public" and its moral meanings established by a handful of authors succeeded in filtering into the daily lives of those who were involved in administrative tasks in Italy.

In this context, the character of Adalgisus allows us to consider the "republic" from a lay point of view, warning against a dominance of the ecclesias-

[36] Placiti I, n. 43, pp. 139-144 (838 V I, Rovigo). The dispute concerns lands of the archiepiscopal church of Ravenna. The *placitum,* which is preserved in Ravenna in his original sheet, mention the count's notary, a certain *Ghisulfo Adalghisi comiti notario*.

[37] I do not consider the count's mention in the Roman *placitum* of 850 as marking the charter a forgery, Placiti I, n. 53, pp. 176-187 (850 IV, Rome). The document, a 13th century copy, is preserved in the archive of the bishopric of Arezzo (Tuscany), as it regards the long-lasting boundary dispute between the sees of Arezzo and Siena. An online transcription with further bibliography in < https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscani-toscana-15/#_ednref27 > [21/02/2023]. For the coronation ceremony, in which Adalgisus was probably present: Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, n. 67, pp. 26-27.

[38] *Synodus habita Francia tempore domni Hlotharii imperatoris pro edificatione Nove Rome*, in MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, p. 139 (846 X) and *De expeditione contra Sarracenos facienda* in MGH, Capit. I, n. 203, p. 67. See also Delogu, *Strutture politiche*, pp. 141-142.

[39] An involvement of the imperial side, and thus of Adalgisus, in the escape of Anastasius is suggested in Cò, *Vescovi, re, imperatori*, pp. 9-17, with further bibliography and references to the papal sources.

[40] Bougard, *Engelberga*, pp. 668-676.

[41] But with the highest title recognising the role of each, as *consors regni*, in the governance of the kingdom: Delogu, Consors regni, pp. 47-98.

tical vision of the Carolingian *res publica*. This prominence (and its problems) is (and are) twofold. On the one hand, the written sources that have survived the wreckage of the centuries were preserved by ecclesiastical institutions, which shows the void left by the almost total disappearance of the archives which must have existed within the aristocratic families and, particularly, those that had to exist in the *palatia* and other centres of public authority, of which only fleeting mention is made in some laws directed at regulating the administration of the *publicum*[42]. Their preservation would have allowed for a deeper understanding of the concept of "public" by the imperial authority and its lay officials.

On the other hand, one cannot forget, as Mayke de Jong has pointed out, the existence, in the Carolingian world, of a double *res publica*, ecclesiastical and secular, that was jointly and doubly articulated[43]. In fact, the "republic" of the Carolingian "intellectuals" (many of them churchmen) was not the "republic" of the "intellectuals" active in ancient Rome: in the understanding of the former, the *res publica* was the product of the moral and spiritual responsibilities of the Christian sovereign, chosen by God as the leader (obviously, a Carolingian) to govern the *regnum*. An example of this can be read in Hincmar of Rheims' *De ordine palatii*, a work dedicated to Carloman II, which incorporates a work written by Adalhard of Corbie at an earlier time (c. 814). Hincmar, backed by his political experience since the last years of Lothar's reign, identifies the existence of two powers that govern the world: the *auctoritas sacra pontificum* and the *regalis potestas*; the latter responds to the law and acts through the *reipublicae* ministers that appear frequently mentioned in *capitularia* and diplomas, whose language clearly influenced Hincmars' own prose[44].

From this point of view, Suppo, Mauringus and Adalgisus, were this kind of officials; namely pieces of a complex machinery of power. The Carolingian officials were arranged around the figure of the emperor even years before the family's arrival in Italy. Indeed, when Charlemagne promulgated (801 ca.) the *Capitulare italicum*, the emperor addressed «omnibus ducibus, comitibus, gastaldiis seu cunctis rei publicae per provincias Italiae a nostra mansuetudine praepositis»[45]. This reference is all the more significant because it was not a unique occurrence in the Carolingian legal landscape, as can be seen in

[42] For lay archives see the chapters included in Brown, Costambeys, Innes and Kosto, *Documentary Culture*. References to lost public documentation in *Karlo epistola in Italiam emissa*, MGH, Capit. I, n. 97, pp. 203-204. Also in *Hlotharii capitulare papiense*, MGH, Capit. II, n. 201, pp. 59-63. For a wider view, McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*.

[43] de Jong, *The two republics*, pp. 486-500.

[44] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, MGH, Capit. II, pp. 517-530, which cited the letter of Pope Gelasius (492-496) on the two authorities which ruled the world, *Letter to the Emperor Atanasius*, p. 20.

[45] MGH, Capit. I, n. 98, pp. 204-206 (a. 801). We do not have the original wording of the capitulary, which leads to caution when considering these quotations, which may have been manipulated when it was copied much later. In any case, the appearance in Charlemagne's diplomas of similar references to the *res publica* offers the basis for considering such definitions plausible.

chapters 6 and 10 of the *Capitulare Mantuanum secundum generale* (813), in which officials like Suppo and Adalgisus are defined as *ministri rei publice*[46].

Thus, throughout this period, a whole series of terms linked to a perception of the *publicum* appear in different sources (*capitularia*, royal diplomas, narratives), which are useful when interpreting the themes through which the Carolingians defined and represented its essence and its vision of the world, as well as its understanding of the *publicum*. Moreover, polemics around the "public/private" opposition are not exclusive to our days; they were also present during Antiquity and the Early Medieval world[47]. In fact, this opposition between public and private is not anachronistic for the Carolingians: the *leges*, public documents, and the works of "intellectuals" often include explicit references to this antithesis. The *Capitulare Mantuanum secundum* points out the difference between *servitio publico vel privato*[48]. The legalistic frame of the empire, as a whole, represents, therefore, a horizon of government closely linked to the rhetorics of governance aimed, as an instruments of power, to communicate with the officials active throughout the Carolingian realms[49].

Thus, the *res publica* was not simply an intellectual space: the *capitularia* define it as a political reality that weaves and binds the kingdom together, that guarantees the common good, the *utilitas regni*, and to which obedience is therefore due[50]. The usefulness and stability of the realm thus appear as one of the law's main concerns, which runs through all Italian legislative production from Lothar to Louis II. In the capitularies issued by the latter, the problems connected with the "public", i.e. the places of government and the officials appointed to its administration, occupy ample space: the *comites* are still defined as *rei publicae provisores*; the *palatia*, for which continuous restoration work is requested, *ad ornatum nostrae rei publicae*[51]. The care with which the "republic" is purported to be administered guarantees the very health of the realm and, conversely, neglect causes the *regnum* to fall ill[52].

However, all the forms linked to the *res publica* seem insufficiently precise to define the contours of the aristocratic groups, precisely because they tend to flatten the strong hierarchy existing in the ranks of the Carolingian ruling classes. In the broadest sense, *ministri rei publice* were also the local officials (*gastaldi*, *actores*, *scabini, sculdahis* ecc.). Even the *servi fiscalini*,

[46] MGH, Capit. I, n. 93, pp. 196-198 (813 I 16).
[47] As far as the Early Middle Ages are concerned, there are recent books devoted in full to its interpretation: Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere*; *L'espace public*; *Spazio pubblico*.
[48] MGH, Capit. I, n. 93, pp. 196-198 (813 I 16).
[49] MacLean, *Kinghsip and Politics*, p. 20.
[50] MGH, Capit. I, n. 164, 2, p. 328 (825 V): «obedientiam rei publice»; MGH, Capit. I, n. 165, 2, p. 330 (825 V): «rei publicae utilitatem».
[51] MGH, Capit. II, n. 210, 14, p. 83 (845-850), and MGH, Capit. II, n. 213, 7, p. 86 (850). See also, Santos Salazar, *A propósito*, pp. 91-101.
[52] MGH, Capit. II, n. 212, 8, p. 85 (850): «ut status rei publicae nostrae in hoc non videatur infirmari»: disease often caused by selfishness, to cite Paschasius, *Vita Adalhardi*, coll. 1632-1633.

as property of the *publicum* subjected to provisions issued by sovereigns can, with all caution, be included in the lowest step of such a large group[53].

In fact, some writers, like Thegan, blamed the kings for encouraging paths of social ascension making powerful men from the poorest strata of Carolingian society, as was the case of bishop Ebbo of Rheims[54]. Therefore, if the *res publica* gave meaning to the service of *nobiles, mediocres et infimi* embodied in it[55], the political ideals and behaviour of the aristocracy had to resort to other forms of social distinction, which went beyond service to the *publicum*, a commitment which embraced all those men called to their duties within the universe of the Carolingian system, whatever those duties might have been[56]. Instead, the service of the emperor could satisfy the aristocratic consciousness of certain "noble" families, perhaps less politically ambitious than others? Were they by those means more conscious of their position within the restricted club of the *potentes* serving the *regnum*?

5. *Aristocratic ethos*

To address the set of traits and modes of behaviour that make up the complex and highly articulated identity of the Carolingian aristocracy (which was never a closed group) during Adelgisus' lifetime, it is perhaps useful to approach it via the work of a woman. I refer to the *Liber Manualis* written between November 841 and the first days of February 843 at Uzès (located in Southern France) by Dhuoda, the wife of Bernard of Septimania, count and chamberlain (*camerarius*) of the Emperor Louis the Pious[57]. It is a moral work, with some similarities to the "Mirror of princes" books, addressed to her first-born son, William, then aged sixteen[58]. As Régine Le Jan has pointed

[53] The *fiscalini* are mentioned in the *Capitulare de villis vel curtis imperialibus* among others sources, MGH, Capit. I, n. 32, 50 and 52, pp. 82-90. See also Barbero, *Liberti, raccomandati, vassalli*.

[54] His family was a family of the royal fisc: Airlie, *Bonds of power*, pp. 202 and 204. Airlie mentioned also Adrevald of Fleury, who claimed that Charlemagne was so suspicious of his noble following that he entrusted the *cura regni* to some of his *servi fiscalini* in his *Miracula s. Benedicti*, p. 192. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that Charlemagne followed, with this attitude, the famous Gospel dictate, expounded in Luke 1, 52: «et exaltavit humiles».

[55] Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, 1.1, p. 2: «pueros nobilissimos, mediocres et infimos», are defined by Notker when he narrates how the noble students were scolded for their demerit by Charlemagne visiting their school, and how he promised abbeys and bishoprics to those not noble but meritorious.

[56] Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, 17, p. 523 (MGH, Capit. II): «totius regni confaederatio in maioribus vel minoribus singulis quibuscunque cottidianis necessitatibus occurentibus cum palatio conglutinabantur».

[57] Dhuoda and her book have been the focus of much research in recent years, see at least Riché, *Introduction*; Dronke, *Women Writers*, cap. 4, pp. 36-53; Nelson, *Dhuoda*, pp. 106-120; Le Jan, *Dhuoda ou l'opportunité*, pp. 109-128.

[58] The mirror is explicitly mentioned in the book's prologue. Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, *Prologus*, p. 80: «inuenies etiam et speculum in quo salute animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicere».

out, «the Manual is a complex work, which goes well beyond the treatise on Christian education»[59].

Dhuoda's aim was to explain to William, «the way of living of *aulici* as a group; she wrote to stimulate their service to the *res publica*, and their devotion to the Carolingian dynasty»[60], thus being an exceptional guide to the values that may well have been those guiding the moral and public actions of the Supponids. The desire to advise on the way in which fidelity to God (firstly and above all), and the Carolingian king has to be interpreted has been emphasised by much of the historiography[61], but a deeper reading of the text shows how that service to the dynasty is secondary if compared to the extreme loyalty that Dhuoda's required William to have towards his own family and, in particular, to its leader, his father Bernard[62].

Such ethical and behavioural principles may explain some of the families' actions in the turbulent years of Charles II rule in West Frankia[63]. But they serve, above all, to observe, at close quarters, how the centrality of the kin was beyond dispute: thanks to its landed wealth the aristocrat holds his rank; wealth that passed on from generation to generation through inheritance[64]. True, no one can deny the importance of obedience and service to the crown. The emperor (or the king) is the only one with the power to bestow *honores*. Thus, in the pages written by Dhuoda, there is a very unstable balance between the priority given to loyalty to the kin and the needs to be a faithful servant of the Carolingian sovereigns, the only one able to regulate access to offices at a time in which much of the political history of the period revolves around the struggle for *honores*[65].

[59] Le Jan, *The multiple identities*, p. 211.
[60] Nelson, *Dhuoda*, p. 120.
[61] See also the Preface of the *Liber*: «Audiui enim quod genitor tuus Bernardus in manus domni te commendauit Karoli regis; admoneo te ut huius negotii dignitatem usque ad perfectum uoluntati operam des» (Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis, Praefatio*, p. 86).
[62] Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.2, p. 140: «Quanquam in specie humanitatis forma uel potentia regalis atque imperialis praecellat in saeculo, ut secundum more[m] hominum illorum prior ueneretur actio et nomina quasi causa uenerationis et potestas fulta culmine honoris, ex uerbis testimonio collectis illius qui dixit: "Siue regi quasi praecellenti, siue ducibus et cetera"; mea tamen, fili, talis est uoluntas, ut secundum admonitionem paruitatis meae intelligentiam, secundum Deum, in primis illi qui te prolem habuit, proprium, fidelem et certum dum uiuis non negligas reddi obsequium. Certa quidem et fixa manet conditio, quod nullus nisi ex genitore procedat, non potest ad aliam et summam personam culmine peruenire senioratus», where criticism against adventures such as Ebbo of Rheims seems to be echoed. Dhuoda returns to the subject in Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.1, p. 134: «Qualiter domno et genitori tuo Bernardo, tam praesens quam absens, timere amare, atque fidelis in omnibus esse debeas, insinuare, ut ualeo, non pigeo». Dhuoda goes so far as to write that the sovereign has been chosen by God, but also by William's father, see Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.4, p. 148.
[63] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, *passim*.
[64] Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 8.14, p. 318: «Ora pro parentibus genitoris tui, qui illi res suas in legitima dimiserunt hereditate».
[65] Airlie, *Charlemagne and the aristocracy*, p. 93. The importance of the competition for the *honores* in Airlie, *The aristocracy*, p. 446.

From this point of view, a review of Aldagisus' career shows his close proximity (*Könignsähe*) to Lothar and Louis II: he was always faithful and was rewarded with the commitment in public affairs as *count* and *missus*. As far as his family is concerned, there do not seem to have been any political problems, of which the count was also the leader during the last years of Lothar's life. It is more difficult to find documentary evidence of his landed wealth, the consistency of which escapes our images of the period that one can find, like faded photographs, in the sources that have survived to the present day for the nephew, Suppo III, mainly around the rural territories around Reggio Emilia, Parma and Piacenza[66]. In fact, observing the reality of other comital families of lower rank than the Supponids, as in the case of Count Autrammus, one can imagine processes of patrimonial rootedness in the areas where these men carried out their public tasks as *ministri rei publice*[67].

The last of the themes that Dhuoda emphasises in terms of the suitable training of a great aristocrat is that of the advice (*consilium*), which, on the one hand, will allow William to be an indispensable pawn for the proper government of the kingdom and, on the other, would keep his actions removed from bad company[68]. Within Adalgisus' kin, the role played by his father Suppo in denouncing Bernard's rebellion, must have been very present in the stories that could be told at family meetings or by the firelight. Probably, the group also remembered the dangers of bad advice (as the Carolingian narrative sources also reminded one in the case of the young king of Italy), to which Suppo paid no heed, like a new Ulysses, deaf to the voices of the mermaids[69].

Like Dhuoda, Adalgisus could also boast continued loyalty – and far longer than the family of Bernard of Septimania, decimated by royal wrath as a response to their rebellions supporting other Carolingians –, to the kings Lothar and Louis II all around the Italian peninsula, from Brescia to Ravenna and Rome[70]. He could also be defined as other aristocratic *fideliter servientes*,

[66] Provero, *Chiese*, pp. 50-51. His importance as a man of Louis II and the high offices to which he was called were already noted by Malaguzzi Valeri, *I Supponidi*, pp. 8-10; his genealogical tradition has been corrected by more recent works. For similar family routes, interpreted by Ucpoldings, in which the competition with the Supponids for the control of some territories of the kingdom could have led to a disagreements with Louis II, it is worth to see Manarini, *I due volti*.

[67] The landed wealth was based on exploitation of fiscal *beneficia*, completed by own properties which the count bought in the territories placed between Modena and Bologna and close to his own comital see: Santos Salazar, *Una terra*, pp. 166-169 and Bougard in this volume.

[68] For the bad company, Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.7, p. 162: «Cum maliuolo et pusillanimo uel iracundo consilium non ineas» and 3.5, p. 152: «Fac cum consilio illorum qui tibi ad corpus et animam fidelem praeparant actionem».

[69] *Chronicon Moissiacense*, p. 312, *ad annum* 817: «Audiens autem Bernardus [filius Pippini regis] rex Italiae quod factum erat, cogitavit consilium pessimum, voluitque in imperatorem et in filios eius insurgere, et per tyrannidem imperium usurpare». Compared with Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.6, p. 158: «Sunt nonnulli qui quasi consiliarii se arbitrantur esse, et non sunt».

[70] Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 3.4, p. 150: «Nunquam aliquando ex infidelitatis uesania improperium ex te exeat malum».

which were *fulgentes in aula*[71]. In fact, not even once does Adalgisus seem to have thought of rebellion, perhaps because he considered his sovereign *digno et sublimi*, carrying on the family tradition set by his father in the service of Louis the Pious[72]. Not even when Lothar decided, in 848, to reduce the family's political influence over the monastery of San Salvatore (and, thus, over the entire north western sector of the Po plain) by handing it over in usufruct to his wife Ermengard (and at her death, to their daughter Gisla) did the count seem to have displayed any kind of opposition[73].

He and his family were among the most loyal representatives of a behaviour which came to be known as that of secular sanctity: nobles were expected to be «saintly in public, partly to save their own souls and partly to save the others», as pointed out by Thomas Noble[74], though one is tempted to add that this may have also been to save themselves from a cruel political destiny. Nevertheless, Adalgisus served Lothar and Louis II all his life (from the courts of justice[75] to the battlefront) loyally. It is worth noting that Louis II was also his son-in-law.

From then on, to be loyal to the crown and to their kin could be understood by the Supponids as one and the same task.

6. *Beyond Lothar: a conclusion*

With its men acting as the highest *officia* in the kingdom and one of its women as an empress, the family proved to be one of the main resources for the support of the Carolingians in Italy. The sovereigns could use the Supponids as a *quasi* fiscal asset, always at their disposal to carry out the government of the kingdom. A task that continued with the generation of Adalgisus' son and grandchildren, who held *comitati* and episcopal functions in various areas of northern Italy, from Lombardy to Emilia and Piedmont, as well with his nephew Suppo III, who married a sister of Eberhard, the Marquis of Friuli, and came to be *consiliarius* of Louis II[76].

With Bertilla, Suppo II's daughter, the union between the family and the throne was repeated[77]. The brothers of the new queen (from 888) distinguished themselves by their loyalty to King Berengar during the wars that followed in Italy the deposition and death of Charles III. In the *Gesta Ber-*

[71] *Ibidem*, 3.9, p. 170.
[72] *Ibidem*, 3.6, p. 162.
[73] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 101, pp. 240-242 (818 III 16, Aachen).
[74] Noble, *Secular sanctity*, p. 13.
[75] May he had followed Dhuoda's counsel in court? Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, 10.2, p. 344: «Iustus in causas iudex ualens adesto, munus a manu non accipias umquam, nec oprimas quemquam».
[76] Bougard, *Les Supponides*, p. 390 and Bougard *Le royaume*. On Eberhard see Provero, La Rocca, *The dead*, pp. 225-280.
[77] Sereno, *Bertilla e Berta*.

engarii, a panegyric composed between 915 and 924 to celebrate the deeds of Berengar as the new emperor, the three brothers of the queen (Adalgisus II, Wifred II and Boso) were defined *tria fulmina belli*. The anonymous poet added that they were bonded by Bertilla to their *amato* (beloved) king[78]. A fourth brother, Ardingus, was bishop of Brescia (the closeness between the family and the Lombard city is underlined once again) and archchancellor of the king[79].

The Supponids fell into disgrace at the time when Berengar preferred other policies, which included the elimination of the queen[80]. As "resources" of the *publicum*, the members of the family could be raised up or put down, used or abandoned, placed at the head of public districts or removed from their offices, as the case of Bertilla shows in all its rawness. Only from that moment on, one of them, Boso, can be documented as a rebel[81]. Who knows if he ever read Dhuoda's work. What is clear is that loyalty to his family was (for him as much as for Dhuoda), more important than loyalty to his king. Conversely, when another sovereign relied on their loyalty to build his own regime, as was the case of Hugh of Provence, the Supponids returned to prominence, occupying again the *honores* (as, for example, the comital office in Bergamo and Modena with Suppo IV).

For the family, proximity to a king was always a *conditio sine qua non* for aspiring to a leading role in the political arena of the *regnum*. When this closeness failed, or when kings resorted to other families, the members of the kin group disappeared[82]. Their fate as *ministri rei publice* came into crisis from the second decade of the tenth century onwards, when the *res publica* itself began to change in its political meanings and contents[83]. By that time, other type of economic and social impetus would have characterised most of the new leading families of the kingdom[84].

[78] «Pariter, tria fulmina belli, / Suppone coeunt; regi sotiabat amato/ quos tunc fida satis coniunx», in *Gesta Berengarii*, II, vv. 77-79, pp. 374-375. For a political context see Albertoni, *La fine dell'impero*, pp. 281-299. The identification of the queen as the sister of the three brothers in the glosses of the panegyric's manuscript: «soror eorum coniux regis erat», is cited in Malaguzzi Valeri, *I Supponidi*, p. 13.

[79] Pratesi, *Ardingo*, p. 35, but his relationship with the family is not indicated.

[80] For the reasons for this choice in Lazzari, *Le donne del regno,* pp. 213-216.

[81] DD B I, n. 91, pp. 244-245 (913 IX 19, Pavia): «infideli nostro Bosonete»; see Hlawitschka, *Franken*, pp. 162-163.

[82] An interpretation very far from the nostalgic and melancholy hypothesis on the end of the Supponids hinted at years ago by Vito Fumagalli, for whom the last members of the family would have lived «sulla china di una decadenza politica ed economica maturata e consumata da tempo in fatalistica consapevolezza», Fumagalli, *Terra e società*, p. 105.

[83] Santos Salazar, *Governare*, pp. 277-286.

[84] West, *Reframing*; Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo*; Santos Salazar, *Competition as politics*.

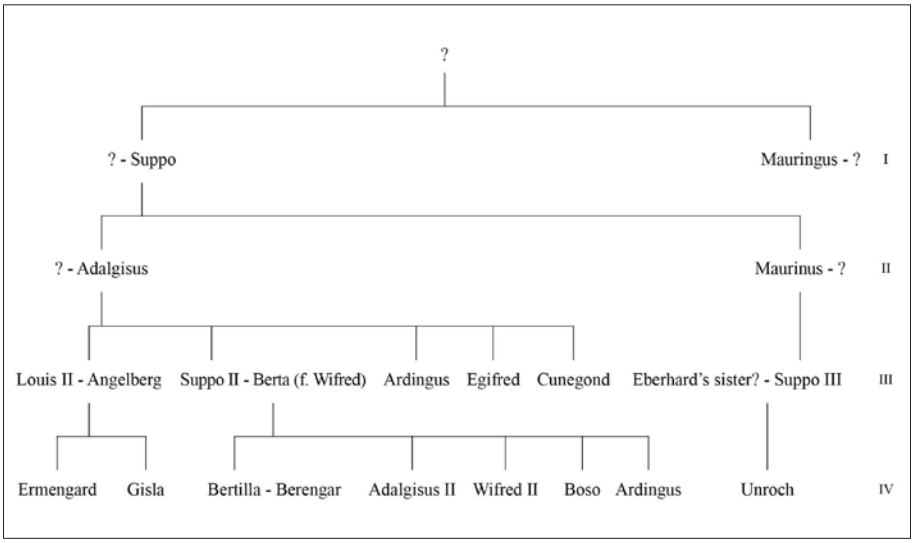

Fig. 1. Hypotheses for reconstructing the family ties of the first generations of the Supponids

Works cited

S. Airlie, *Bonds of power of power and bonds of association in the court circles of Louis the Pious*, in *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives of the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, pp. 191-204.

S. Airlie, *Charlemagne and the aristocracy: captains and kings*, in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. J. Story, Manchester 2005, pp. 90-102.

S. Airlie, *Making and Unmaking of the Carolingians (751-888)*, New York 2020.

S. Airlie, *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, Farnham 2012.

S. Airlie, *The aristocracy,* in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, *c. 700-c. 900*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 1995, pp. 431-450.

G. Albertoni, *La fine dell'impero carolingio e i conflitti per il regno italico nei* Gesta Berengarii, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 17 (2016), 2, pp. 281-299.

A. Barbero, *Liberti, raccomandati, vassalli. Le clientele nell'età di Carlo Magno*, in «Storica», 14 (1999), pp. 7-60.

J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, I. *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (926)*, vol. 3, *Die Regesten des* Regnum Italiae *und der Burgundischen* Regna, 1: *Die Karolinger im* Regnum Italiae *840-887 (888)*, ed. H. Zielinski, Köln-Wien 1991.

F. Bougard, *Les Supponides: echec à la reine*, in *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge. Crises et renouvellements*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 381-401.

F. Bougard, *Le royaume d'Italie de Louis II à Otton I^er^ (840-968). Histoire politique*, Leipzig 2022.

W. Brown, M. Costambeys, M. Innes, A.J. Kosto, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2012.

P. Cammarosano, *Nobili e re. L'Italia politica dell'alto medioevo*, Roma-Bari 1998.

A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, *Falsari a Nonantola. I placiti di Ostiglia (820-827) e le donazioni di Nogara (910-911)*, Spoleto 2012.

G. Cò, *Vescovi, re, imperatori. Anastasio Bibliotecario tra Occidente e Oriente*, Bologna 2019.

M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Autority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, Cambridge 2009.

M. de Jong, *The Two Republics:* Ecclesia *and the Public Domain in the Carolingian World*, in *Italy and Early Medieval Europe. Papers for Chris Wickham*, ed. R. Balzaretti, J. Barrow, P. Skinner, Oxford 2018, pp. 486-500.

P. Delogu, Consors regni*: un problema carolingio?*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 76 (1964), pp. 47-98.

P. Delogu, *Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Ludovico II. Ricerche sull'aristocrazia carolingia in Italia (2)*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 80 (1968), pp. 137-189.

P. Depreux, *Das Königtum Bernhards von Italien und sein Verhältnis zum Kaisertum*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 72 (1992), pp. 1-25.

P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, Sigmaringen 1997.

P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete*, Cambridge 1984.

Les élites au haut Moyen Âge, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006.

L'espace public au Moyen Âge. Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas, ed. P. Boucheron, N. Offenstadt, Paris 2011.

V. Fumagalli, *Terra e società nell'Italia padana. I secoli IX e X*, Torino 1976.

H.-W. Goetz, *Nobilis. Der Adel im Selbstverständnis der Karolingerzeit*, in H.-W. Goetz, *Vortellungsgeschichte. Gesammelte Schriften zu Wahrnehmungen, Deutungen und Vorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Aurast, S. Elling, B. Freudenberg, A. Lutz, S. Patzold, Bochum 2007, pp. 173-205.

Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident médiéval (400-1100), ed. F. Bougard, D. Iogna-Prat, R. Le Jan, Tunrhout 2009.

Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2), pp. 517-530.

E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayerns und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962)*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960.

M. Innes, *Charlemagne's Will: Piety, Politics and the Imperial Succession*, in «The English Historical Review», 112 (1997), 448, pp. 833-855.

J. Jarnut, *Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme und König Bernhard von Italien. Der Versuch einer Rehabilitierung*, in «Studi Medievali», 30 (1989), pp. 637-648.
R. Kramer, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire. Ideals and Expectations during the Reign of Louis the Pious (813-828)*, Amsterdam 2019.
T. Lazzari, *Le donne del regno italico*, in *L'eredità culturale di Gina Fasoli*, ed. F. Bocchi, pp. 209-218.
T. Lazzari, *Una mamma carolingia e una moglie supponide: percorsi femminili di legittimazione e potere nel regno Italico*, in *"C'era una volta un re". Aspetti e momenti della regalità*, ed. G. Isabella, Bologna 2005, pp. 41-57.
R. Le Jan, *Dhuoda ou l'opportunité du discours feminine*, in *Agire da donna. Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione*, ed. C. La Rocca, Turnhout 2007, pp. 109-128.
R. Le Jan, *The multiple identities of Dhuoda*, in *Ego trouble: authors and their identities in the early Middle Ages*, ed. R. Corradini, M.B. Gillis, R. McKitterick, I. van Reenswoude, Vienna 2010, pp. 211-221.
S. MacLean, *Kinghsip and Politics in the Late Ninth Century. Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*, Cambridge 2003.
I. Malaguzzi Valeri, *I Supponidi. Note di storia signorile italiana dei secoli IX e X*, Modena 1894.
E. Manarini, *I due volti del potere. Una parentela atipica di ufficiali e signori nel regno italico*, Milano 2016.
J. Martindale, *The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal*, in «Past & Present», 75 (1977), pp. 5-45.
R. McKitterick, *A King on the Move: The Place of an Itinerant Court in Charlemagne's Government*, in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: a Global Perspective*, ed. A. Tülay, K. Metin, Leiden 2011, pp. 145-169.
L. Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere. The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, Leiden 2007.
Der Memorial- und Liturfiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 4).
J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, London 1992.
J. Nelson, *Dhuoda*, in *Lay intellectuals in the Carolingian world*, ed. P. Wormald, J. Nelson, Cambridge 2007, pp. 106-120.
J. Nelson, *Élites in the reign of Charlemagne*, in *Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge. Conception, perception et réalisation sociale*, ed. F. Bougard, H-W. Goetz, R. Le Jan, Tunrhout 2011, pp. 309-324.
T.F.X. Noble, *Secular sanctity: Forging an ethos for the Carolingian nobility*, in *Lay intellectuals in the Carolingian world*, ed. P. Wormald, J. Nelson, Cambridge 2007, pp. 8-36.
T.F.X. Noble, *The revolt of King Bernard of Italy in 817: its causes and consequences*, in «Studi Medievali», 15 (1974), pp. 315-326.
S. Pivano, *Il "comitato" di Parma e la "marca" lombardo-emiliana*, in «Archivio storico per le province Parmensi», 22 (1922), pp. 1-80.
A. Pratesi, *Ardingo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 4, Roma 1962, p. 35.
P. Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, Sozialverhätnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin 2021.
Privilegia episcopii Cremonensis *o Codice di Sicardo (715/730-1331)*, ed. V. Leoni, < https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/cr/cremona-sicardo/ > [01/03/2023].
L. Provero, *Chiese e dinastie nel mondo carolingio*, in *Storia di Parma*, vol. 3/1, *Parma medievale. Poteri e istituzioni*, ed. R. Greci, Parma 2010, pp. 41-67.
L. Provero, C. La Rocca, *The dead and Their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and His Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863-864)*, in *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. F. Theuws, J. Nelson, Leiden 2000, pp. 225-280.
T. Reuter, *The medieval Nobility. Studies on the ruling classes of France and Germany from the 6th to the 12th century*, Amsterdam 1979.
P. Riché, *Introduction*, in Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, ed. P. Riché, *Manuel pour mon fils*, Paris 1975 (Sources Chrétiennes, 225), pp. 11-64.
I. Santos Salazar, *A propósito de* res publica. *Una interpretación desde la Italia carolingia (774-924)*, in *El Estado y la Alta Edad Media. Nuevas perspectivas*, ed. Á. Carvaja, C. Tejerizo, Bilbao 2023, pp. 91-101.
I. Santos Salazar, *Competition as politics: Castile and Lombardy compared (910-950)*, in *Social complexity and the State: the forms of governance in Western Europe between the 8th and 11th centuries*, ed. I. Santos Salazar, Bilbao 2024, pp. 53-69.

I. Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia (774-924)*, Roma 2021.
I. Santos Salazar, *Una terra contesa. Spazi, poteri e società nell'Emilia orientale*, Firenze 2011.
D. Shanzer, «Stilo… memoriaeque mandavi*»: Two and a Half Conspiracies. Auctors, Actors, Confessions, Records, and Models*, in *Between Ostrogothic and Carolingian Italy*, ed. F. Oppedisano, Firenze 2023, pp. 81-107.
M. Schäpers, *Lothar I. (795–855) und das Frankenreich*, Köln 2018 (Rheinisches Archiv. Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit und Rheinische Landesgeschichte des Instituts für Geschichtswissenschaft der Universität Bonn, 159).
C. Sereno, *Bertilla e Berta: il ruolo di Santa Giulia di Brescia e di San Sisto di Piacenza nel regno di Berengario I*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 13 (2012), 2, pp. 187-202.
Spazio pubblico e spazio privato tra storia e archeologia (secoli VI-XI), ed. G. Bianchi, C. La Rocca, T. Lazzari, Turnhout 2018.
Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia (781-810)*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2022.
G. Tellenbach, *Zur Bedeutung der Personenforschung*, Freiburg 1957.
Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge. Conception, perception et réalisation sociale, dir. F. Bougard, H-W. Goetz, R. Le Jan, Tunrhout 2011.
G. Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo. Il* Perpendiculum *di Attone di Vercelli e la storia politica del regno italico*, Spoleto 2012.
G. Vignodelli, *Supponidi*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 94, Roma 2019, pp. 538-541.
K.F. Werner, Hludovicus Augustus: *gouverner l'empire chrétien – idées et réalités*, in *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives of the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, pp. 3-124.
C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution. Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800-c.1100*, Cambridge 2013.

Igor Santos Salazar
Università degli Studi di Trento (Italy)
igor.santossalazar@unitn.it
0000-0003-0980-9554.

So far, so close.
Lothar I and the interweaving of relationships between the aristocracies of Veneto and Alemannia

by Leonardo Sernagiotto

The first half of the ninth century saw profound changes in the Veneto-Friuli area, as well as in the Alemannic-Rhaetian area, regions closely connected to each other after the Carolingian conquest of Italy. The Friulian aristocracy was experiencing a phase of decline, while the Veronese aristocracy became stronger, in a framework of apparently little relationship with the Frankish rulers. On the other hand, although often holding prestigious positions in Italy, the Rhaetian-Alemannic aristocracy found itself living on a razor's edge, especially after the convulsion of Carolingian political events and the various hypotheses concerning the imperial division. The article aims to examine the activities of the aristocracies of the Veneto-Friuli area in the broader context of their relations with the Rhaetian-Alemannic world and the Carolingian family, marked by repeated dynastic clashes and reconciliations.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Veneto; Friuli; Verona; Alemannia; Rhaetia; Carolingians; geographic mobility; ethnicity.

Leonardo Sernagiotto, University of Padua, Italy, leonardo.sernagiotto@gmail.com, 0000-0002-2904-7959

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Leonardo Sernagiotto, *So far, so close. Lothar I and the interweaving of relationships between the aristocracies of Veneto and Alemannia*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.11, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 161-188, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

Carte del monastero = *Le carte del monastero di San Salvatore e Santa Giulia di Brescia*, vol. 1, *759-1170*, ed. G. Cossandi, Spoleto 2020 (Fonti storico-giuridiche. Documenti 4).

CDL = *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, Augustae Taurinorum 1873 (Historiae patriae monumenta, 13).

CDP = *Codice diplomatico padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto l'undecimo*, ed. A. Gloria, Venezia 1877.

ChLA², LV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LV, Italy XXVII, Ravenna 2, publ. R. Cosma, Dietikon-Zürich 1999.

ChLA², LIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LIX, Italy XXXI, Verona 1, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.

ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.

ChLA², CIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part CIII, Schweiz VI, St. Gallen 4, publ. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, B. Zeller, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.

ChLA², CIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part CIV, Schweiz VII, St. Gallen 5, publ. P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, B. Zeller, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

DD B I = *I diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Roma 1903 (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 35).

Iohannes diaconus, *Istoria* = Iohannes diaconus, *Istoria Veneticorum*, in *Cronache*, ed. G. Fedalto, L.A. Berto, Aquileia 2003 (Scrittori della Chiesa di Aquileia, XII/2).

LP = *Le* Liber Pontificalis. *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vol., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1892.

MGH, AB = *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1883 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 5).

MGH, Adrevaldus Floriacensis, *Miracula S. Benedicti* = Adrevaldus Floriacensis, *Miracula S. Benedicti*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hannoverae 1887, pp. 474-497 (MGH, SS, 15, 1).

MGH, AF = *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannover 1891 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 7).

MGH, *Andreae Bergomatis* = *Andreae Bergomatis Historia*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1878, pp. 220-231 (MGH, SS rer. Lang., 1).

MGH, ARF = *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1895 (MGH, SS rer. Germ, 6).

MGH, Astronomus, *Vita* = Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 280-555 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).

MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).

MGH, Conc. II = *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover-Leipzig 1906-1908 (MGH, Conc., 2).

MGH, DD Karol. I = *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, Hannover 1906 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1).

MGH, DD LdD / Km / LdJ = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin 1934 (MGH, Diplomata regum Germ. ex stirpe Kar., 1).

MGH, DD LdF = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, ed. T. Kölzer, Wiesbaden 2016 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 2).

MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, München 1979 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).

MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).

MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler et al., Berlin 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).

MGH, *Ex miraculis S. Genesii* = *Ex miraculis S. Genesii*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannoverae 1887, pp. 169-172 (MGH, SS, 15, 1).

MGH, Necr. Suppl. = *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, ed. P. Piper, Berlin 1884 (MGH, Necr., Suppl.).

MGH, Poetae II = *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, II, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1884 (MGH, Poetae, 2).

MGH, Libri mem. N.S. I = *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. J. Autenrieth D. Geuenich, K. Schmid, Hannover 1979 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).

MGH, Libri mem. N.S. IV = *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 4).
MGH, Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina* = Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, ed. L. Traube, Berlin 1896 (MGH, Poetae, 3), pp. 166-240.
MGH, Thegan, *Gesta* = Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64), pp. 168-277.
MGH, *Translatio sancti Callisti* = *Translatio S. Calixti Cisonium*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hannoverae 1887 (MGH, SS, 15, 1), pp. 418-422.
Miracula S. Marci = W. Berschin, T. Klüppel, *Der Evangelist Markus auf der Reichenau*, Sigmaringen 1994 (Reichenauer Texte und Bilder, 4).
Visio cuiusdam pauperculae mulieris = Visio cuiusdam pauperculae mulieris. *Überlieferung und Herkunft eines frühmittelalterlichen Visionstextes*, ed. H. Houben, in «Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins», 124 (1976), pp. 31-42.

1. *A problematic transition*

The Frankish expansion in the second half of the eighth century had radically changed the European geo-political scenario, putting different realities into close contact and creating what Adrevald of Fleury renamed around 870 a *solidum corpus ex diversis nationibus*[1]. From being a peripheral area of the Frankish dominion, Alemannia became an important transit area and crossroads towards Italy and Bavaria[2], while the Lombard kingdom conquered by Charlemagne saw the inclusion of numerous persons of transalpine origin in several Italian cities, many of whom held important positions at the top of the city hierarchies[3].

The aim of this essay is to investigate the relations between the Rhaeto-Alemannic region and the north-eastern part of the *regnum Italiae*, corresponding to the present-day regions of Veneto, Friuli, and Trentino[4], and to outline the development of this geographical area during Lothar I's (817-855) rule. Alemannia and the Veneto-Friuli area shared a traumatic and violent transition to Frankish rule, with the decimation of part of the local aristocracy. While the Alemannic nobles were slaughtered in the so-called *Blutgericht* of Cannstatt in 746[5], in 775 the duke of Friuli Hrodgaud rebelled against Charlemagne, involving in the revolt also Stabilinius, his father-in-law and probable duke of Treviso, and Gaidus, duke of Vicenza[6]. Charlemagne defeated the rebels on the battlefield in 776 and confiscated their possessions: before his return beyond the Alps, he also placed Frankish and Alemannic figures in the rebellious territories. Although not all the aristocrats from Veneto and Friuli supported Hrodgaud, the rebellion convinced the Frankish king of

[1] MGH, Adrevaldus Floriacensis, *Miracula S. Benedicti*, 33, p. 493.
[2] Zettler, *Die karolingischen Grafen*, p. 89; Zotz, *Alemannien in der Karolingerzeit*.
[3] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*; Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*.
[4] Choice based on the capitulary of Lothar of 825 and the council of Mantua of 827; see *infra*.
[5] For an examination of the episode and the various accounts in Frankish sources, Wolf, *Das sogenannte "Blutgericht"*.
[6] About Hrodgaud, Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 119-142; Stoffella, *Rodgaudo*.

the need for a more organic integration of the region into Frankish political mechanisms[7].

Charlemagne, who no longer visited North-Eastern Italy after 776, entrusted the Lombard kingdom to his son Pippin, who, according to the *Divisio Regnorum* (806), at his father's death would obtain a kingdom comprising Italy, Bavaria, Rhaetia and part of Alemannia[8]. Pippin died prematurely in 810, and the Italian crown passed to his son Bernard, whose rebellion against his uncle Louis the Pious, who became emperor in 814, profoundly marked not only the history of the *regnum Italiae*, but also the entire Carolingian political context[9].

The reasons for the attempted insurrection on the part of the young king of Italy are not entirely clear. Traditionally the historians linked them to Bernard's opposition to the content of the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817, which would weaken Bernard's position in the *regnum Italiae* after Lothar's appointment as co-emperor[10]. The *Annales regni Francorum*, which report the young king's desire to establish a tyranny, specify that Bernard received the oath from all the Italian cities, news that was however considered «half true, half false» («ex parte verum, ex parte falsum»)[11]. Louis's immediate military response, however, provoked numerous desertions on Bernard's side. The young king was imprisoned and subsequently blinded, a punishment that caused him to die after a few days[12].

How to interpret Bernard's revolt in the light of the relations between Alemannia, *Venetia*, and the Carolingian royal power? In the first place, it is possible to grasp how the rebellion was not limited only to the *regnum Italiae* but also involved personalities placed outside the Peninsula who could have sympathised with, if not supported, Bernard's insurrection. The most famous case is that of Theodulf Bishop of Orléans, an important intellectual of Visigothic origin and prominent personality of the cultural circle of Charlemagne, who was listed among the supporters of the uprising, an accusation that he vigorously rejected[13]. On the other hand, the position of the Rhaetian-Alemannic monasteries is different. According to Regine Le Jan, the *libri memoriales* of St. Gallen, Pfäfers, and Reichenau made a precise selection of the names of the Carolingian imperial family to remember and to whom to address their prayers: these lists show how these monasteries supported Bernard's claims

[7] Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice*, pp. 136-137. See Gasparri, *L'identità dell'Italia nordorientale*.
[8] MGH, Capit. I, n. 45, 2, p. 127. On Pippin's reign, Spes Italiae (in particular, on the relationship with the Veneto area, Zettler, *Über die Verbindungen*).
[9] Noble, *The revolt of King Bernard*; de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 24-30; Patzold, *Zwischen Gerichtsurteil*.
[10] MGH, Capit. I, n. 136, 17, p. 273: «Regnum vero Italiae eo modo praedicto figlio nostro [Lothar], si Deus voluerit ut successor noster exsistat, per omnia subiectum sit, sicut et patri nostro fuit et nobis Deo volente prasenti tempore subiectum manet». See Patzold, *Zwischen Gerichtsurteil*, pp. 42-45.
[11] MGH, ARF, p. 147, *ad annum* 817.
[12] MGH, ARF, p. 148, *ad annum* 818.
[13] About Theodulf, Nelson, *The libera vox of Theodulf*.

to Rhaetia, a region administered by his father Pippin until his death[14]. The *libri memoriales* of St. Gallen, Reichenau, and Pfäfers not only reflect the criticism of these *cenobia* against the succession plan of the *Ordinatio imperii,* but also testify to the strong opposition to Empress Irmingard. The wife of Louis the Pious and mother of Lothar is subject to *damnatio memoriae* in St. Gallen and Pfäfers, and condemned to otherworldly tortures in the *Visio cuiusdam pauperculae*, most likely written in the monastery of Reichenau[15].

In addition to the involvement of Theodulf of Orleans and the spiritual support of the Rhaetian-Alemannic monasteries, there was also the intercession of the monks of Fulda in favour of Bernard[16]. This demonstrates how the revolt also extended north of the Alps, agreeing with the affirmation of Thegan, one of the biographers of Louis the Pious, who reports how Bernard could count on impious advisers «hinc et inde», which I would interpret as «here and beyond (of the Alps)»[17].

Regarding the *regnum Italiae*, although the Frankish sources affirm that all the cities joined the revolt, the effective extent of the rebellion is unclear. The narrative sources report only the names of Eggideo, the *camerarius* Reginhard, Reginhar, and the bishops Anselm of Milan and Wolfodus of Cremona[18]. The area of North-Eastern Italy seems therefore excluded; however, in a diploma of 17th February 819, Louis the Pious, at the request of the Patriarch of Aquileia Maxentius, assigns to the monastery of Santa Maria (in San Canziano d'Isonzo) the goods confiscated from the late Ardulf, son of Eric, because of his infidelity[19]. The temporary proximity may suggest an involvement of Ardulf in the uprising of Bernard; although this can only remain a hypothesis, as hypothetical as is the identification of his father Eric with the famous Duke of Friuli, who died in 799[20].

The Italian front was nevertheless not compact, if we trust the account of the Astronomer. The anonymous biographer of Louis the Pious is the only author to state that the emperor was warned of the revolt by two prominent figures, Suppo, future Count of Brescia, and Ratold, bishop of Verona, the latter at the time of the writing of the work (late thirties - early forties of the

[14] Le Jan, *Mémoire et politique*. The manuscripts are: St. Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Sang. A1. *Confraternitates Sangallenses*; St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv (Abtei Pfäfers), Cod. Fab. 1. *Liber viventium*; Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Rh. hist. 27.

[15] Le Jan, *Mémoire et politique*, pp. 151-153. On the *Visio cuiusdam pauperculae*, Dutton, *Politics of dreaming*, pp. 67-80 and La Rocca, Paupercula, pp. 36-38.

[16] MGH, Epp. V, *Epistolarum Fuldensium fragmenta*, p. 517. Zettler, *Die karolingischen Grafen*, p. 101.

[17] MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 22, p. 210: «Bernhardus, filius Pippini ex concubina natus, per exortationem malorum hominum extollens se adversus patruelem suum, voluit eum a regno expellere – habebat enim impios consiliarios hinc et inde».

[18] Noble, *The revolt of King Bernard*. Wolfoldus, of probable Alemannic origin, is most likely to be identified with the *Uuoluoltus eps* included in the St. Gallen *liber memorialis* (Zettler, *Probleme der frühmittelalterlichen*, p. 266).

[19] MGH, DD LdF, n. 149, pp. 373-374 (819 II 17, Aachen): «Ardulfus filius Herici (...) postquam nobis infidelis extitit».

[20] Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, p. 185.

ninth century) returned to his native Alemannia, if not already deceased[21]. Reginhar, Wolfodus, Suppo, and Ratold belonged to the transalpine aristocracy transplanted to Italy – an aristocracy divided internally, with one side aligned in favour of the young king Bernard and the other loyal to the Emperor Louis the Pious.

2. Concordia Imperii

In the rare narrative sources from *regnum Italiae*, Ratold's human and political story provides the key for analysing the aristocratic networks of northeastern Italy, their relationship with Carolingian power and the personal, cultural and religious ties with the Rhaetian-Alemannic world. This is thanks, above all, to the relatively abundant documentation preserved in the Veronese archives, which make Verona the best-documented city in Veneto for the entire ninth century[22]. From the end of the eighth century, Verona saw the comital and episcopal offices controlled by transalpine figures, especially from Alemannia[23]. During the reign of King Pippin, the city was also a lively and active centre in the cultural network of the kingdom and of the empire, in an attempt to ensure hegemony over the other cities of the *regnum*. This intellectual ferment was fostered by the Alemannic bishops – Egino and especially his successor Ratold –, who made Verona a hub for the spread of Carolingian ecclesiastical reforms, inserting the city into the cultural and textual network linked to the monastery of Reichenau[24].

However, the death of Charlemagne and Bernard's revolt seem to have greatly slowed down this intellectual dimension: after 817, no more literary works produced in the Veronese framework are mentioned. The substantial hagiographic production concentrated in a few years observed until 814 dropped drastically, to disappear, while on the other hand, until 829, private documentation remained very scarce[25]. The scarcity of the private documentation could be connected to Bernard's revolt: part of the Veronese elite may, in fact, have supported the claims of the young king of Italy, if we believe the Frankish sources that speak of oaths taken by the *potentes* of the Italian cities. The local elites could therefore not share Ratold's choice to warn the Emperor Louis of Bernard's revolt. Archdeacon Pacificus, a fine Lombard in-

[21] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 29, p. 382. For the writing period, *ibidem*, pp. 66-68. For the biographical profile of Suppo: Bougard, *Les Supponides*, pp. 382-384 and Vignodelli, *Supponidi*; for Ratold: Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 358-360 and Hlawitschka, *Ratold*.
[22] Santoni, *Scrivere documenti*; Veronese, *The struggle*.
[23] From the Carolingian conquest until the middle of the ninth century we find attested the counts Wolvene, Hadumar, Hucpald, Warald, Walpert, Bernard and the bishops Egino, Ratold, Notting, Billung, all transalpine. Castagnetti, *Il Veneto nell'alto medioevo*, pp. 52-56; Zettler, *Die karolingischen Grafen*. See *infra*.
[24] Veronese, *The struggle*, pp. 75-77.
[25] Tondini, *Un modello per il regno*, pp. 392-397.

tellectual and a «significant representative of Frankish politics»[26], represented the most striking case of this disconnect between the bishop and Veronese society. Pacificus's attestations disappear from Verona after 814 and it has been proposed to identify him with a monk of the same name from the not so distant monastery of Nonantola, who appears in the *liber confraternitatis* of Reichenau[27].

The political career of Ratold did not change after Lothar's arrival in Italy in 822, as no reasons for tension emerged between the bishop and the co-emperor. Ratold proved to be closely linked to the Emperors Louis the Pious and Lothar, for whom the Veronese church also composed *laudes*, and he was engaged in frequent travels in the *regnum* as an imperial agent. This, however, forced him to prolonged absences from Verona, another indication of an environment not entirely favourable to the Alemannic bishop[28]. The symptom of a probable divergence between Ratold's ambitions and the needs of Veronese society can be seen in the bishop's efforts to build his own cell near Lake Constance, the future Radolfzell, in the late 820s[29].

Lothar stayed briefly in Italy in the 820s but carried out an intense legislative activity concerning the *regnum Italiae*[30]. The sovereign mentioned Verona in the *capitulare* of Olona in 825, listing it among the seats of the *regnum italicum* charged with the role of improving doctrinal education in the various episcopal centres[31]. As part of this reforming plan, and also thanks to its prestigious library, Verona was chosen as the educational hub for the episcopal chapters of Mantua and Trento, cities belonging to the ecclesiastical province of the *Venetiae*, according to the Council of Mantua in 827[32]. In fact, Lothar decided to combine the remaining cathedral chapters of Veneto (Padua, Treviso, Feltre, Ceneda, Asolo), and to place them under the intellectual dominion of the episcopal see of Vicenza, whose scarce documentation does not allow us to draw an exhaustive picture of the socio-political reality of the city[33].

Although geographically close, contacts between Verona and Vicenza in the first half of the ninth century appear very limited[34], not excluding proba-

[26] Butz, Zettler, *Two early necrologies*, p. 219.
[27] MGH, Libri mem. N.S. I, p. 21, column D, 3. On Pacificus, see La Rocca, *Pacifico* (p. 180 for the hypothesis of an identification with the monk of Nonantola).
[28] Hlawitschka, *Ratold*, p. 18; Tondini, *Un modello per il regno*, pp. 151-152. For the *laudes*, contained in the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. XCII (87), ff. 68r-71v, see Veronese, *Struggle*, pp. 74-75.
[29] Hlawtischka, *Ratold*, pp. 19-21.
[30] Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni, pp. 224-238.
[31] MGH, Capit. I, n. 163, p. 327.
[32] MGH Conc. II/2, n. 47, pp. 583-589 (827 VI 6, Mantua).
[33] Castagnetti, *Il Veneto nell'alto medioevo*, pp. 56-57. Belluno and Concordia, bishop's seats not mentioned in the capitulary, were presumably meant to be under the jurisdiction of Cividale del Friuli (MGH, Conc. II/2, n. 47, p. 327: «reliquae civitates Forum Iulii ad scolam conveniant»).
[34] Generic *homines Vicentini* appeared as neighbours in an exchange in Valpantena (ChLA², LIX, n. 13, pp. 65-69 [838-839 III 7, Verona]), while Ursibertus and Audibertus *de Vicencia* witnessed in a charter issued in Verona (ChLA², LIX, n. 19, pp. 99-101 [854 V, Verona]).

ble border disputes between the two cities[35]. In contrast to Verona, the upper echelons of religious and civil power in Vicenza were occupied by Bavarian exponents, such as Bishops Andreas and Francus, and Count Cundhart, attested from 818 to 827. They continued to maintain direct relations beyond the Alps: i.e. Andreas met Hitto, bishop of Freising, where he stopped in 819 on his return journey from Aachen to Vicenza[36]. The interests of other wealthy transalpine personalities were also concentrated in the Vicenza area. In the mid-ninth century, the widow Peresinda, professing Alemannic law, donated to the monastery of San Salvatore in Brescia estates in the Vicenza area and in *Alemania finibus*[37], while the Frankish Rorius, bishop of Padua attested since 855, owned several properties in the territory of Padua and in the *comitatus* of Vicenza. In 874, Rorius donated these goods to the monastery of Santa Giustina, as attested in a document of dubious authenticity, signed by a large group of witnesses, including two Franks and four Alemans[38].

The presence of transalpine aristocrats in the territories of Verona and Vicenza went along with the disappearance of the wealthy and powerful Friulian aristocracy, which throughout the eighth century had owned vast properties outside the borders of Friuli, from Veneto to Tuscany[39]. This disappearance can be attributed to Charlemagne's repressions after the revolt of Hrodgaud, followed by the occupation of the Friulan ducal charge by transalpine personages, who continued to maintain supra-regional relations with Alemannia and *Francia*. The aforementioned Duke Eric, whose birth in Strasbourg Paulinus of Aquileia remembered[40], was transalpine, as was his successor, the Alemannic Cadolah, probable nephew of Wolvene, count of Verona. Cadolah was responsible for the border in Dalmatia and died on his return from his unsuccessful military campaign against the rebel Duke Ljudevit[41]. He also maintained solid roots in Alemannia: in 817, on his return from a mission to Aachen, he entrusted his son Perahtold to the monastery of St. Gallen, who therefore remained in the transalpine region while Cadolah returned to Italy[42].

Cadolah's successors were also transalpine: firstly, Baldric, whose failure to combat the Bulgarian incursion in 828 led to his dismissal, and to the subdivision of the Friulian march into four parts[43]. Then Eberhard of Friuli, a leading figure of the highest Frankish aristocracy, whose possessions were scattered throughout the Carolingian empire, including Alemannia and the

35 Settia, *Vicenza di fronte ai Longobardi*, p. 23.
36 Hammer, *From* ducatus, pp. 233-236. For Andreas' document, Bitterauf, *Traditionen*, I, n. 400c, p. 344 (819 VIII 12).
37 *Carte del monastero*, n. 45, pp. 185-187 («Peresinda, relicta quondam Adilberto, legem Alemanorum descendens, de finibus Vicentine»). This charter can be dated around 851.
38 CDP, n. 15, pp. 29-31 (874 V 2, Padova); Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*, pp. 20-23.
39 Gasparri, *Istituzioni e poteri*.
40 Peršič, Piussi, *Paolino patriarca*, p. 220.
41 Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 163-165.
42 ChLA^2, CI, n. 25, pp. 89-93 (817 XI 17, Daugendorf).
43 MGH, ARF, p. 174, *ad annum* 828. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 146-147; Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 192-196.

regnum Italiae. Very loyal to Louis the Pious, whose daughter Gisla he married, Eberhard was a staunch ally of Lothar, always at his side even in the most difficult moments, for example after the latter's defeat at the Battle of Fontenoy in 841[44]. Eberhard's arrival represented a turning point in the regional defence against Slavic incursions, according to the testimony of Andreas of Bergamo and the praise of Sedulius Scottus[45]. Although Eberhard's military training is undeniable, as demonstrated by his appointment as commander of the first *scara* in the expedition against the Saracens in 847, it is presumably easy to believe that the Margrave of Friuli could count on a local aristocracy highly trained in combat, given the endemic conflict in the region, and manage to organise and coordinate it best[46].

While Friulian marquis power was in the hands of transalpine exponents, there is no information on the origin of the Patriarchs of Aquileia from the age of Lothar, among whom the vigorous action of Patriarch Maxentius, attested from around 811 to 836, is noteworthy. Not only did he transfer the patriarchal seat again from Cividale to Aquileia, where he undertook the reconstruction of the basilica of St. Mary, but he also forged close ties with the various Carolingian rulers (Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, Lothar), who granted numerous privileges and donations of territories to the Church of Aquileia[47]. In order to settle the dispute with the Patriarchate of Grado concerning the metropolitan rights over the region of Istria, in 827 Maxentius convened a synod in Mantua in the presence of imperial and papal *missi* and numerous bishops from northern Italy[48]. The council, in addition to validating Maxentius' claims, can be interpreted as the patriarch's warning to the other bishops, in particular Ratold of Verona, emphasising the preeminence of the patriarchal office of Aquileia against any autonomist wishes[49].

The reshaping of the great Friulian aristocracy in the Veneto area did not only benefit the transalpine element, but also the religious institutions of Verona, which saw a lively expansion of their interests in *Venetia* during the ninth century. Both the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo and the monastery of San Zeno expanded their sphere of influence along important trade routes: the Adige valley, the course of the river Po, the Venetian lagoon. The

[44] On Eberhard, La Rocca, Provero, *The Dead and Their Gifts*; Kershaw, *Eberhard of Friuli*.
[45] MGH, *Andreae Bergomatis Historia*, p. 226, c. 8; MGH, Sedulius Scottus, *Carmina*, n. 53, p. 212.
[46] On the 847 expedition, MGH, Capit. II, n. 203, pp. 65-68; on the military training of the Friulian aristocracy, Gasparri, *Istituzioni e poteri*, pp. 122-126. However, it is not right to interpret relations between Slavs and Friulians solely in terms of hostility, Curta, *The making of the Slavs*, pp. 70s.
[47] Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 168-179.
[48] MGH, Conc. II/2, n. 47, pp. 583-589 (827 VI 6, Mantua). This synod provides the first (and often the only) attestation of the bishops of the province of Aquileia for this period: Ratold of Verona, Francus of Vicenza, Laiulfus of Mantua, Dominicus of Padua, Adeodatus of Treviso, Emmo of Ceneda, Othelbertus of Belluno, Anselmus of Concordia, Auratus of Feltre, Arthemius of Asolo, Heimbert of Trento.
[49] Azzara, *Il concilio di Mantova*; Veronese, *Entangled Competitions*.

monastery of San Zeno, directly connected to the Veronese bishopric[50], could count on the interest of the Emperor Lothar. The ruler presumably saw in the coenobium an important element in terms of the power structure and decided to support it also in opposition to the city's comital office. This could be a key to understanding the *placitum* of 15th January 833, requested by Bishop Ratold, and exceptionally presided over by Lothar himself, which recognised the rights of the monastery of San Zeno over the Ostiglia forest, along the river Po, against the claims of Warald, count of Verona[51].

Emperor Lothar, who granted the Veronese monastery tax exemption for sailing two ships along the rivers Po, Adige and other watercourses[52], also favoured the monastery of San Zeno in its expansion into the Treviso area. The sovereign, again at the request of Bishop Ratold, in fact granted the Veronese monastery the coenobium of Saints Peter, Paul and Theonistus located in Casier, a few kilometres south of Treviso along the river Sile[53]. The Treviso monastery's possessions extended from the foothills of the Veneto region, along the valley of the river Piave, to the edge of the Venetian lagoon, near the border with the Venetian duchy, a border strongly highlighted by the lagoon aristocracy itself, as witnessed by the affair of Duke Obelerio. In the internal struggles within the Venetian duchy, in fact, Obelerio, together with other aristocrats, took refuge in Treviso, where he was elected duke around 804, ending up exiled to Constantinople after a few years[54]. On his return to the lagoon, Obelerio took up arms against Duke John, but was defeated, captured and finally beheaded. His head was hung *iuxta sancti Martini marginem* (near Mestre), on the border with the *regnum Italiae*, a macabre warning against possible interference in the lagoon by people from outside the duchy[55].

Regarding Treviso, although its administrative structure is uncertain[56], it covered an important commercial function in the Carolingian age, corroborated also by the presence of a mint. This was the only one in the Veneto area, operating until the middle of the ninth century, with Lothar the last Carolingian sovereign to issue coins in his own name from the mint of Treviso[57]. The

[50] Stoffella, *La basilica e il monastero*.
[51] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 11, pp. 74-76 (833 I 15, Mantua). About the *placitum*, Castagnetti, *Le falsificazioni*, pp. 35-38. On Warald, Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 282-283.
[52] This exemption is quoted in a later diploma of King Berengar: DD B I, n. 11, pp. 39-41 (893 XI 9, Verona).
[53] The grant is mentioned in the diploma of Lothar's son Louis II: MGH, DD Lu II, n. 13, pp. 88-91 (853 VIII 24, "curte Auriola").
[54] Iohannes diaconus, *Istoria*, II, 24, pp. 71-73; 29, pp. 75-77.
[55] Iohannes diaconus, *Istoria*, II, 41, p. 80. Ortalli, *Il ducato*, pp. 732-736; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, pp. 250-252.
[56] Not only after Gebhard (†801/802) are there no other counts attested in Treviso, but the figure of Gebhard himself is problematic, being attested only in hagiographical sources produced outside the Veneto (Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 184-185; Veronese, In Venetiarum partibus, pp. 218-224). Stefano Gasparri suggests that Eberhard of Friuli may also have held the position of count of Treviso, based also on the fact that Eberhard owned property in Musestre, on the river Sile, *in comitatu Tarvisiano*: Gasparri, *Dall'età longobarda*, pp. 26-28.
[57] About mint of Treviso, see Coupland, *The coinage*, pp. 176-178; Rovelli, *Coins and trade*, p. 70.

commercial importance of Treviso is also supported by the presence of Jewish merchants, whose presence, although they are mentioned for the first time in a *diploma* of King Berengar in 905, can be assumed as early as the ninth century[58]. The Jewish presence only confirms the value of Treviso as a gateway to the East and important port for the Italic kingdom of the upper Adriatic in the Carolingian age, as testified by annalistic and hagiographic sources. These contain scant but significant mentions of the *Tarvisiani portus*, from where emissaries, merchants and relic thieves landed and sailed to Byzantium and the Near East. In 806 Frankish ambassadors returning from Persia disembarked at the port of Treviso, while the *Miracula sancti Genesii*, composed in Reichenau between 822 and 838, narrate that at the beginning of the ninth century, Charlemagne's envoys, on their way to the Caliph of Baghdad Harun al-Rashid, and the messengers of Gebhard, Count of Treviso, about to set sail for Jerusalem, met in the port of Treviso[59]. Bishop Ratold himself would have reached Treviso in order personally to recover the relics of the saints Genesius/Senesius and Theopontius/Teopompus[60]. Although the port of Treviso has often been identified with the Riva di Mestre, located at the edge of the lagoon, recent archaeological surveys found a river landing near the historical centre of Treviso, which could have been the port. Excavations have demonstrated the reclamation of a suburban area between the eighth and ninth centuries and the simultaneous construction of a river landing along the Botteniga river, a tributary of the Sile river, which allowed a connection with the Venetian lagoon. These works show an expanding city during the early middle ages[61].

The information concerning the other cities of Veneto for the first half of the ninth century is meagre and fragmented, and the very scarce documentation does not allow us to draw profiles of a local aristocracy, much less any relations with the transalpine world. The rare documentation also concerns the diplomas of Louis the Pious and Lothar, rulers who seem to have had very sporadic relations with the Veneto-Friuli aristocracies. Of the hundreds of *diplomas* issued by two emperors (even jointly), very few have been preserved regarding recipients in this geographical area, mostly referring to the monastery of San Zeno in Verona[62] and the Church of Aquileia governed by Patriarch Maxentius[63]. Moreover, with the exception of Charlemagne's presence during

[58] DD B I, n. 52, pp. 149-151 (905 I 9, Verona). Bertazzo, *Ebrei nell'Alto Adriatico*, pp. 118-120.
[59] Respectively MGH, ARF, p. 122, *ad annum* 806 and MGH, *Ex miraculis S. Genesii*, p. 170. For the problems concerning the use of *Miracula* for an early medieval Treviso reconstruction, Veronese, In Venetiarum partibus.
[60] *Miracula S. Marci*, p. 42. On the plausibility of this information Hlawitschka, *Ratold*, pp. 22-23. Francesco Veronese is more cautious (Veronese, In Venetiarum partibus, pp. 247-258).
[61] Pizzinato, Vianello, *Nuovi elementi*; Pellegrini, Colucciello, *Lo scavo di piazza Santa Maria*. For locationing of the *portus Tarvisiani* in Mestre, Gasparri, *Dall'età longobarda*, p. 25.
[62] Louis the Pious: MGH, DD LdF, nn. depp. 213-216, pp. 1168-1170. Lothar: MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 11, pp. 74-76 (833 I 15, Mantua); n. dep. 151, p. 334; n. dep. 163, p. 339.
[63] Louis the Pious: MGH, DD LdF, n. 233, pp. 580-581 (824 I 21, Ver-sur-Launette); n. 288, pp. 718-720 (830 XI 11, Nijmegen); n. dep. 16, pp. 1045-1046 (before 832 XI 30). Lothar: MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 9, pp. 70-73 (832 XI 30, Pavia); n. 76, pp. 192-193 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville).

the repression of Hrodgaud's revolt, Veneto and Friuli remained systematically outside the direct range of action of the Frankish sovereigns, including Lothar himself, for whom there is no evidence of any stays in this area[64].

Noteworthy is the case of Ceneda, today Vittorio Veneto, a *castrum* of non-Roman foundation whose diocese, which only came to life in the eighth century[65], appears to be closely linked to the transalpine world, without the presence of any confirmed Alemannic or Frankish bishops. The cathedral chapter of Ceneda is in fact the only religious institution in *Venetia* to stipulate a brotherhood bond with a Rhaetian-Alemannic monastery, specifically with the coenobium of Reichenau. Datable to the 830s, the *confraternitas* saw the drafting in a Reichanau manuscript of two lists of the religious members of the Ceneda chapter, subdivided into living and deceased, lists headed respectively by Bishop Emmo, who participated in the Council of Mantua in 827, and the deceased Bishops Iulianus and Dulcissimus[66].

Contacts with the transalpine world would also seem to be attested in nearby Belluno, a city located along the valley of the river Piave, an axis connecting with Bavaria through the Puster Valley[67]. The only document from Belluno referring to the first half of the ninth century has survived in a nineteenth century transcription: Teodaldus, bishop of Belluno, may have made a donation in 853 in favour of the capitular clergy of Belluno[68]. The same bishop acquired the donated properties from the late Enspertus of Baldeniga and they were located across a wide territory, in Ceneda, in the Friulian territory and *in Teotonicus*. However, at the time of the donation, part of these properties were managed *in precaria* by Onelda, Enspertus' widow, who could dispose of them for life. Although there are objective doubts as to its genuineness[69], the document offers an example of a local aristocrat, who possessed properties spread over a wide geographical horizon and was in close contact with the city's ecclesiastical leadership, ties that ensured his widow's protection after Enspertus' death.

[64] Louis the Pious also gave grants to the *comes* Aio, MGH, DD LdF, n. 101, pp. 244-245 (816 VII 31, Aachen) and the monastery of Santa Maria di San Canzian d'Isonzo, at the request of Patriarch Maxentius, MGH, DD LdF, n. 149, pp. 373-374 (819 II 17, Aachen). Lothar gave benefits to Ortinus, vassal of Notting, bishop of Verona, MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 75, pp. 190-191 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville), and to the episcopal Church of Padua, MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. dep. 179, p. 345.

[65] For a debate on the controversial origins of the see of Ceneda, Dalle Carbonare, *Nuove considerazioni*.

[66] MGH, Necr. Suppl., p. 290. Dulcissimus is the recipient of a diploma of Charlemagne, which came down to us in a heavily interpolated copy: MGH, DD Karol. I, n. 177, pp. 238-239 (794 III 31, Frankfurt); no other attestation of Iulianus is available. Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen*, pp. 138-140.

[67] Bosio, *Le strade romane*, pp. 149–155.

[68] Biblioteca civica bellunese, ms. 493, folio 13 (853 III 1, Belluno). The diocese of Belluno is better documented from the second half of the ninth century, with Bishop Aimo, attested between from 877 to 923 and loyal to Carloman, King of Bavaria (Rosenwein, *The Family Politics*, pp. 264-265).

[69] E.g., a discrepancy is the absence of the name of Emperor Louis II in the dating formula. However, the document is considered substantially authentic (Grendele, *I vescovi veneti*, p. 226).

To return to Verona and the monastery of San Zeno, despite the interest of the Frankish emperors, the Veronese monastery does not seem to have been able to attract testamentary bequests from Veronese society. Even considering the losses of private documentation, it emerges that not even the bishops of Verona Billung (Alemannic) and Audo (Lombard), whose wills are preserved, benefited the monastery of San Zeno[70]. The exception is Engelbert from Erbé, a wealthy Lombard landowner from the countryside south of Verona, who drew up his will in 846 and made a donation in favour of the monastery, a decision probably motivated by his kinship with Ebbo, abbot of San Zeno[71].

3. *Bad times, good times*

Relations between Veronese society and the city's ecclesiastical bodies changed profoundly with the evolution of the political-dynastic situation of the Carolingian empire, especially when, in 829, Louis the Pious's plan to assign a kingdom to his son Charles the Bald, born from his second marriage to Judith, became clear[72]. The emperor wanted to guarantee his youngest son a political base of his own, and for this reason, he drew the borders of a new kingdom, aggregating the territories of Alemannia, Rhaetia, Alsace and part of Burgundy. The political centre and seat of the royal palace of this new kingdom was Bodman, on Lake Constance, not far from the monastery of Reichenau[73]. This intervention was the first in a series of decisions by Louis the Pious that brought great uncertainty to the entire Rhaetian-Alemann area. In little more than a decade, this region experienced various plans of dynastic succession, with its attribution to the various sons of Louis the Pious (Charles the Bald, Lothar, Louis the German)[74]. This instability undoubtedly had repercussions on the Alemannic aristocracy in Italy since, according to the provisions of the *Ordinatio imperii*, an aristocrat was required to dispose of *beneficia* only in the *regnum* of a single sovereign[75]. Entrusting Charles the Bald with territories that until then had been managed directly by Louis the Pious and, later, by Lothar, was certainly a destabilising choice. Moreover, Louis the German craved the lands in question, and he seemed to enjoy support within the monastery of Reichenau[76]. The territorial decisions of 829, combined with the change at the top of the empire with the appointment of Bernard of

[70] Billung's will: ChLA², LX, n. 26, pp. 118-121 (846 XII 12, Verona); Audo's will: ChLA², LIX, n. 23, pp. 113-115 (860 VIII 5, Verona).
[71] ChLA², LX, n. 25, pp. 109-117 (846 V 28, Erbé). See *infra*.
[72] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, esp. pp. 86-89.
[73] Zotz, *Ludwig der Fromme*.
[74] Kaschke, *Die Teilungsprojekte*.
[75] MGH, Capit. I, n. 136, 9, p. 272.
[76] Goldberg, *Struggle for empire*, pp. 56-61. In 829, Louis the German interceded in favour of the monks of the monastery of Reichenau in a diploma issued by his father Louis the Pious: MGH, DD LdF, n. 280, pp. 696-698 (829 IX 6, Worms).

Septimania as *camerarius*, led to the so-called "loyale Palastrebellion" and to the first confinement of Lothar in Italy[77].

This first political turbulence does not seem to have had immediate repercussions on Veronese society, as witnessed notably by the *placitum* of January 833 regarding the forest of Ostiglia. The situation changed radically with the events of June of the same year, when the rebellion of Lothar, Pippin and Louis the German against their father saw the deposition of Louis the Pious and the simultaneous imprisonment of the young Charles the Bald in the monastery of Prüm and the Empress Judith in the city of Tortona[78]. The wife of Louis the Pious was freed by the action of some aristocrats present in Italy, of whom the sources mention Ratold, bishop of Verona, Boniface, margrave of Tuscany and Pippin, son of Bernard king of Italy, the ruler whom Ratold himself – at least according to the testimony of the Astronomer – contributed to imprison[79].

In the meantime, Pippin of Aquitaine and Louis the German reconciled with their father and opposed Lothar who, in 834, acknowledged his defeat and retreated to Italy, remaining there until the death of Louis the Pious in 840. With the constant presence of the co-emperor in Italy, Ratold abandoned Verona to reside beyond the Alps, alternating between the imperial court and Radolfzell, the monastic cell he founded on Lake Constance[80]. Ratold in fact lost Lothar's support, an indispensable instrument for legitimising and strengthening his power in the Veronese context, as we have seen from the various concessions offered by Lothar to the monastery of San Zeno. However, the bishop must not have lost hope of returning to Italy, since in 836 Louis the Pious sent *missi* to Lothar, ordering his son to reinstate the counts and bishops who had accompanied Judith from Italy with «faithful devotion» – and thus also Ratold –, a provision that was evidently not respected by Lothar[81]. Meanwhile, at the imperial court, Ratold interceded in favour of Verendarius, bishop of Chur who, like him, had remained faithful to Louis the Pious and for that reason was removed from his diocese[82]. Although there is no indication about who was responsible for Verendarius' exile, I consider it plausible to identify Louis the German who, in the first phase of the 833 revolt, extended his control over the entire area east of the Rhine River. The young Louis assumed the title of *rex in oriental Francia*, attested in the diploma issued on 19th October 833 in favour of the monastery of St. Gallen[83]. The

[77] Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni, pp. 301-355. Louis the Pious had deposed important Frankish aristocrats, including Hugh of Tours (father-in-law of Lothar), Matfrid of Orleans and the aforementioned Baldric of Friuli.
[78] Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, pp. 236-270.
[79] MGH, AB, pp. 8-9, *ad annum* 834; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 52, p. 492. Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni, pp. 407-420.
[80] For the last years of Ratold, Hlawitschka, *Ratold*, pp. 24-29.
[81] MGH, AB, p. 12, *ad annum* 836: «de episcopis atque comitibus, qui dudum cum augusta fideli devotione de Italie venerant, ut eis et sedes propriae redderentur».
[82] MGH, DD LdF, n. 360, pp. 895-900 (836 I 8, Aachen).
[83] MGH, DD LdD / Km / LdJ, n. 13, pp. 15-16 (833 X 19, Frankfurt). This was the first deed for a Rhaetian-Alemannic institution issued by Louis the German.

complicated situation in Alemannia, shown by the scarcity of the preserved documentation[84], may have convinced Ratold to act in favour of Louis the Pious during the rebellion of the sons of the emperor, reaffirming his loyalty to protect his interests in the area around Lake Constance.

Following the revolt of 833, while Lothar strengthened the role of Pavia as the political-administrative centre of the *regnum Italiae*[85], in Verona, after the departure of Ratold, the bishop's see remained vacant until 840. In March of that year, a few months before the death of Louis the Pious, Notting, in close contact with influential figures such as Hrabanus Maurus, was attested as *vocatus episcopus* of Verona[86]. The reason for this "institutional void" is unclear: rather than Lothar's punitive attitude towards Verona, the impossibility of the sovereign to appoint a new bishop, due to the absence of a synod convened to depose Ratold, seems more plausible[87].

While a new bishop appeared in Verona, the imperial political situation saw a rapprochement between Lothar and Louis the Pious, due to the latter's clash with his son Louis the German, fomented by the highest Frankish aristocracy. Prominent figures in eastern *Francia* – Otgar of Mainz, Adalbert of Metz, Atto of Fulda – held numerous rich estates on both sides of the Rhine and saw Louis the German's westward expansion as a threat. They therefore decided to put pressure on the emperor, also involving the Empress Judith, for his reconciliation with Lothar[88]. Louis the German's ambition and the rapprochement between Lothar and his father, led in 838 to the confinement of Louis the German to Bavaria alone and, in 839, to a further imperial division plan, which saw – in this case – the assignment of Alemannia to Lothar[89]. The co-emperor claimed possession of the region with the transfer of the relics of Saint Januarius from Rome to Reichenau, a transfer recounted in poetic form by Walafrid Strabo. Walafrid, at that time probably abbot of the monastery of Reichenau, describes the highly symbolic ritual of the deposition of the relics, performed by Lothar himself as a penitent[90].

Verona, in the period of episcopal absence, saw the expansion of the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo thanks to the energetic action of its abbot

[84] In spite of the wealth of documents in St. Gallen, no private *chartae* of certain date written during the months when Lothar was sole emperor (June 833-February 834) have been preserved. The only documents attributable to this period are ChLA², CIII, n. 43, pp. 112-113 (833 X 27 / 834 X 26, Urlau) and n. 44, pp. 114-115 (833/834).

[85] Majocchi, *Pavia*, pp. 44-47.

[86] ChLA², LX, n. 24, pp. 105-107 (840 III 17, Verona). In a letter dated 840, Hrabanus Maurus addresses Notting, calling him *electus episcopus*; MGH, Epp. V, *Hrabani Mauri abbatis Fuldensis et archiepiscopi Moguntiacensis epistolae*, n. 22, p. 428. About Notting, Schmid, *Kloster Hirsau*, pp. 32-37. The identification of Notting bishop of Verona with the eponymous bishop of Vercelli (e.g., supported in Andenna, *Notingo*) is no longer considered reliable; see Bougard's article in this volume.

[87] Hlawitschka, *Ratold*, pp. 28-29.

[88] Goldberg, *Struggle for empire*, pp. 87-92.

[89] MGH, AB, pp. 20-21, *ad annum* 839; Kaschke, *Die Teilungsprojekte*, pp. 113-120.

[90] MGH Poetae, II, n. 77 [*De sancto Ianuario martyre*], pp. 415-416. Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, pp. 338-339.

Audibert, attested from 831 to 846. There is no doubt that Audibert was able to exploit the institutional void left by Bishop Ratold after 834. It is nevertheless undeniable that it was the abbot's personal ability which allowed him to direct the interests of the population of Verona and its territory towards his monastery, especially ecclesiastics – including from the cathedral chapter – and lay people from the small and medium aristocracy, in search of an institutional interlocutor[91]. However, an important fact emerges from the Veronese private charters in this period: from 814 to 840 no persons who expressly define themselves as Alemans or Franks appear in these charters. On the one hand, this disappearance can be explained by the preponderance of the documentation concerning Santa Maria in Organo, a monastery closely linked to the local population, whereas the transalpine people tended to be concentrated in the comital and bishop's entourage. The second reason could be that transalpine persons accompanied bishop Ratold when he took refuge beyond the Alps, proving the rapid turnover of transalpine agents in this period. The first reappearance of transalpine persons in Verona dates back to 17th March 840, when Lupo, Veronese citizen, exchanged some lands with the Alemannic Walpert, count of Verona, who was accompanied by one of his vassals, the Alemannic Sigismundus[92]. The transalpine presence is much more substantial six years later in the will of the Alemannic Billung, bishop of Verona, in which two Franks and six Alemans put their *signum manus*, including Ulfus, vassal of Billung, and Arpert, vassal of Bernard, count of Verona[93]. However, it is necessary to consider how in the private Italian documentation, the appellations "Frankish" or "Alemannic" emerge mostly for non-autograph witnesses, a specification that often did not appear necessary for those who signed in their own hand, as in the case of Bishop Billung himself or the Frank Ratgaudus, active in Lucca[94]. Transalpine agents may have signed or participated in legal transactions without explicitly stating their ethnicity or legal affiliation. Unfortunately, neither anthroponomy nor the possible type of writing used can be sufficient elements to associate a person with a specific geographical area[95]. Finally, there can be problems baffling those who physically drafted the document regarding the ethnicity of the witnesses. It is the case of Hermengarius, a non-autograph subscriber who, in a deed from

[91] Tondini, *Un modello per il regno*, pp. 411-429.
[92] ChLA², LX, n. 24, pp. 105-107 (840 III 17, Verona). Lupo was the son of the deceased Agiprandus and he came from *porta sancti Zenonis*, an urban area in Verona (nowadays Porta Borsari). Walpert, son of the deceased Cunibert de Sancto Iusto, may have belonged to the founding family of Hirsau, in the Black Forest, a parental group to which Bishop Notting might also have belonged. Zettler, *Die karolingischen Grafen*, pp. 109-111.
[93] ChLA², LX, n. 26, pp. 118-121 (846 XII 12, Verona). On Bernard, Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 148-152.
[94] Ratgaudus, active between 840 and 854, in a charter dated 843, calls himself *homo Francisco*, a specification not reported in his various autograph signatures (in caroline minuscle): ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 10, pp. 36-37 (843 VI 12, Lucca).
[95] On the limits of the use of anthroponomy Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*, pp. 26-27, note 59; on those of writing Bassetti, Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità*.

Verona in 809, drafted by the *cancellarius* Stadibertus, appears listed as *curator alamannus*[96]. Five years later, again in Verona, the cleric and notary Audibert listed Hermengarius as *francus*, without any other specification[97]. They could be two different persons, but the presence in the same documents of two other homonyms (Grasulfus and Ingo) suggests that they are the same person. The different ethnicity could be explained, according to Andrea Castagnetti, «per la scarsa sensibilità del notaio di fronte ad immigrati la cui nazionalità gli appariva affine»[98].

In his efforts to consolidate and expand the monastery he governed, Abbot Audibert availed himself of a number of key figures, both ecclesiastical and lay, through whom he came into contact with the city's top echelons, such as the count or the bishop. Thanks to them, Audibert succeeded in further expanding the interests of the monastery, geographically extending its range of action over a vast area, from the Alpine valleys to the river Po. The abbot combined these initiatives with building works, which make Audibert «una figura di spicco dell'evergetismo ecclesiastico carolingio»[99].

Two commemorative inscriptions on two stone discs come from Valpantena[100], an area that saw a lively real estate activity on the part of Audibert, thanks also to the collaboration with the (aforementioned) trusted layman Lupo and with the deacon Audo, the future bishop of Verona. Lupo, although lacking an officially recognised position, proved to be a wealthy, influential agent with a good writing culture, capable of dealing with the upper echelons of Veronese power, as two private charters show. In 841, the year following the exchange with Count Walpert[101], Lupo exchanged a servant with Ebbo, abbot of San Zeno[102]. The legal action of Lupo and the abbot Audibert was then intertwined with that of Audo, whose ecclesiastical career is recorded in the Veronese documentation, culminating with his election as bishop of Verona after 856, the first Lombard to hold that office in the ninth century[103]. In 829, the deacon Audo purchased, for the considerable sum of 180 denarii, a *sors* in the Lessini Mountains, that had belonged to the deacon Gisulf, of whom Audo had been one of the testamentary trustees, as was Lupo, who signed the document[104]. Ten years later, as rector of the church of San Martino di Grezzana,

[96] ChLA², LV, n. 2, pp. 37-41 (809 V 13, Verona).
[97] ChLA², LIX, n. 5, pp. 33-36 (814 V 7, Verona).
[98] Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*, pp. 24-25. The scholar notes that the title *curator* no longer appears in the Veronese documentation.
[99] Lusuardi Siena, *Le tracce materiali*, p. 183.
[100] The first disc, datable to 838, was found in the oratory of San Donato di Maruni; the second, without date, decorated the church of Santa Sofia in Sezano. On both discs, the inscription, containing Audibert's name, is arranged in the form of a cross. Lusuardi Siena, *Le tracce materiali*, pp. 183-184.
[101] ChLA², LX, n. 24, pp. 105-107 (840 III 17, Verona).
[102] ChLA², LIX, n. 16, pp. 81-85 (841 VI-XII 22, Verona). For the economic and patrimonial wealth of Lupo, Stoffella, In vico Gussilingus, pp. 178-180.
[103] Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*, pp. 50-53. Audo was son of the Lombard Grauselbert.
[104] ChLA², LIX, n. 7, pp. 41-43 (829 IX 7, Verona).

Audo made an exchange of lands in Valpantena with the abbot Audibert[105]. In 846, Audo became archdeacon and rector of the *schola sacerdotum*, was designated commissioner in the will of Bishop Billung[106], and in 855 he granted the subdeacon and imperial chaplain Upertus some lands in the Veronese hills and a house in the centre of the city, in a deed signed by Lupo among others[107]. The last records of Audo date back to 860, when he appears in documentation as bishop of Verona[108].

Abbot Audibert's interests also extended southwards, into the Veronese countryside, following the ancient Roman road Claudia Augusta in the direction of the rivers Tartaro and Po, and from there potentially towards the Adriatic Sea[109]. In this area, the object of agricultural colonisation during the Carolingian age[110], and of the interest of the monastery of San Zeno, stood the monastery of Santa Maria di Gazzo, founded in the Lombard age and dependent on Santa Maria in Organo. The building initiative of Abbot Audibert reinforced the connections with the monastery of Gazzo, with the installation of a reliquary cross (now lost), containing the relics of numerous saints, listed in a contemporary epigraph. Another dedicatory epigraph by Audibert, datable to 846, recalls the relic endowment initiative, while the mosaic floor of the same building, datable to the first half of the ninth century, may be connected to Audibert's building restoration and improvement work[111].

In the same year as the epigraph (846), Audibert also appears among the beneficiaries of the will of Engelbert, a resident of Erbé, a locality a few kilometres north of Gazzo[112]. Drawn up to ensure the division of his patrimony in the event that his only son and heir Grimoald died without legitimate heirs, the document provides important information on this aristocrat, who professed to be of Lombard law and signed in his own hand[113], allowing us to trace his social profile. Engelbert's sphere of action goes beyond the narrow local horizon: his properties are distributed between the Veneto and Lombardy, both on the plains and in the hills; he also owns houses within the walls of the city of Verona[114]. His family and social network are also wide: alongside his sister and nephews, vassals, tenant farmers and *massari* are mentioned, as well as

[105] ChLA², LIX, n. 13, pp. 65-69 (838/839 III 7, Verona).
[106] ChLA², LX, n. 26, pp. 118-121 (846 XII 12, Verona): «scole sacerdotum sanctae Veronensis Ecclesiae ubi nunc presenti tempore Audo archidiaconus et Stephanus archipresbiter rectores esse videntur».
[107] ChLA², LIX, n. 20, pp. 103-106 (855 VIII 17, Verona).
[108] The last attestation of Audo is the aforementioned will of 860: ChLA², LIX, n. 23, pp. 113-115 (860 VIII 5, Verona).
[109] Bosio, *Le strade romane*, pp. 82-93.
[110] Castagnetti, *Le falsificazioni*, pp. 112-113.
[111] Lusuardi Siena, *Le tracce materiali*, pp. 178-187, where the texts of the two epigraphs are also reported.
[112] ChLA², LX, n. 25, pp. 109-117 (846 V 28, Erbé).
[113] The will, transmitted in a ninth century copy, does not provide information on Engelbert's writing.
[114] For the location of the places mentioned in the will, Castagnetti, *La distribuzione geografica*.

contacts with important religious institutions, such as the *scola sacerdotum* of Verona, the Veronese monasteries of San Zeno and Santa Maria in Organo and the Brescian monastery of San Benedetto di Leno. In addition to real estate, Engelbert also lists movable goods (servants, animals, household and kitchen items), as well as the sword, spurs and parts of an armour, symbols of his *status* as a free man[115]. Although he did not hold public office, Engelbert was described by Stefano Gasparri as a «proprietario di buona condizione sociale, tipico esponente di un'aristocrazia di livello provinciale»[116]. Andrea Castagnetti furthermore notes how Engelbert, although owning houses in the city, where he had close ties with the city's religious institutions, preferred to place his centre of action in the countryside, according to the general desire of ninth century aristocracies for seigniorial control over men through the organisation of *curtes*[117].

As well as southwards, the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo projected its interests also northwards, along the Adige valley, as witnessed by the *placitum* of 845, which saw the Veronese monastery opposed to some inhabitants of the Rovereto area, regarding the method of conducting various *operae*[118]. This *placitum* is very important in several ways. First, although unlike the monastery of San Zeno, no imperial diplomas in favour of Santa Maria in Organo survived, the *placitum* testifies how Abbot Audibert had personally addressed Louis II, son of Lothar and king of Italy since 839/840, to obtain justice[119]. The *placitum*, which saw the presence of *Langobardi* and *Teutisci* in the justice court, also provides the name of the only Carolingian official in Trento, Dux Liutfrid. He was the son of Hugh of Tours and brother-in-law of Lothar, with close contacts with his homeland Alsace, and his office in Trento confirms the importance of controlling the Adige valley as a connection axis with the reign of Louis the German[120]. Concluding substantially with an agreement between the parties, the *placitum* of Trento testifies on the one hand to the monastery's desire to extend its rights from the lands it owned to the men who worked them, and on the other hand, it demonstrates the firmness of the latter in defending their legal status as free men.

[115] On weapons in the Carolingian period, Coupland, *Carolingian arms*. On weapons as part of the laity's assets, Bougard, *Tesori e* mobilia, pp. 87-88.
[116] Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia*, p. 106.
[117] Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della 'Langobardia'*, p. 618.
[118] ChLA², LIX, n. 17, pp. 87-93 (845 II 26, Trento). Giuseppe Albertoni provides an accurate examination of the *placitum* (Albertoni, *Law and the peasant*).
[119] ChLA², LIX, n. 17, p. 87: «Dum ad excellentissimam potestatem domni Hludovuichi gloriosissimi regis domni Hlotharii imperatoris filius proclamandum et dicendum venisset Audibert abba monasterie Sancte Marie, quod est situm non longe a civitatem Veronam ad portam Organi». On Louis II's reign, Bougard, *Ludovico II*.
[120] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 221-223. Along the Adige valley Louis the German met Lothar (MGH, AF, p. 28, *ad annum* 838: «Hlotharius et Hludowicus in valle Tredentina colloquium habuerunt»), Louis II (MGH, DD LdD / Km / LdJ, n. 85, pp. 122-123 (857?): «Ludowici quippe Baiowariorum regis et equivoci sui Ludowici Longobardorum regis, contigit conventum illorum alloqui fore ad Trientam Odalscalci episcopi civitate») and the Empress Engelberga (MGH, AB, p. 119, *ad annum* 872: «Ingelbergam apud Trientum cum Hludowico rege Germaniae in mense Maio locuturam»).

4. *Arrivederci, Italia!*

The death of Louis the Pious in 840 and the outbreak of the *Bruderkrieg* do not seem to have affected the political situation in the *regnum Italiae*, with a quiet handover between Lothar, now unique emperor, and his son Louis II. The situation was much more complicated in the Rhaeto-Alemannic area, a region fiercely contested between Lothar and Louis the German. The local aristocracy was divided, between those who recognised Louis the German's aspirations to rule in Alemannia and Rhaetia, made explicit by the designation as *rex Alamannorum* in some private documents in St. Gallen[121], and those who supported Lothar. A document issued at St. Gallen records the first year of Lothar's empire: this is the only *charta* that presents such dating, although the documentation from 840-841 is very scarce, indicative of the climate of uncertainty in the region[122]. Furthermore, Ratbert monk of St. Gallen, towards the end of the ninth century, states that, following the death of Louis the Pious, most of the *popolus* of Alemannia, including the abbot of St. Gallen Bernwig, had sided with Lothar who, in turn, had every interest in securing control of the Alpine passes[123]. For this reason, in 840 the emperor issued a diploma in favour of Silvanus, abbot of Pfäfers[124], and the following year two more for Verendarius, the bishop of Chur, who had paid for his loyalty to Louis the Pious with exile in 833[125]. Verendarius's support for Lothar against the expansionism of Louis the German is also evident from the bishop's participation in the synod of Milan in 842, the last attestation of the belonging of the diocese of Chur to the metropolitan province of Milan, before its passage to the archdiocese of Mainz, in the *regnum* of Louis the German[126]. Walafrid Strabo offered a further example of the internal division within the Alemannic aristocracy. After 840, Walafrid had to leave the monastery of Reichenau because of his support for Lothar, taking refuge in Speyer. From the city along the Rhine, Walafrid composed a poem in honour of the Emperor Lothar, urging him to claim the succession of his father Louis the Pious[127]. Despite his proclamation of loyalty to Lothar and his bitterness for the exile from Alemannia, the emperor's defeat at battle of Fontenoy in June 841 saw Walafrid's approach to Louis the German. Walafrid later returned in Reichenau, thanks to the intercession of his master Grimald, who had become

[121] E.g., ChLA², CIII, n. 36, pp. 98-99 (834 V 6, Bernhardsriet): «anno .I. Hludouuici regis Alamannorum».
[122] ChLA², CIV, n. 26, pp. 76-77 (840-841, St. Gallen): «anno primo Hlohtharii imperatoris».
[123] Ratpert, *St. Galler Klostergeschichten*, 7, p. 186: «Cum igitur, ut diximus, maxima pars populorum Hlotharium sequeretur, contigit et Bernwicum nostrum abbatem illius partis fuisse adminiculatorem».
[124] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 44, pp. 157-159 (840 VII 24, Strasbourg – forged).
[125] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 55, pp. 157-159 (841 I 21, Gondreville – forged) and n. 63, pp. 172-173 (841 X 17, Thionville).
[126] *Concilium Angelberti archiepiscopi Mediolanensis a. 842*, in MGH, Conc. II/2, n. 62, pp. 814-815.
[127] MGH, Poetae II, n. LXXVI, pp. 413-415.

Louis's arch-chancellor and abbot of St. Gallen[128]. Regarding this monastery, during the Bruderkrieg Louis the German had at first deposed Abbot Bernwig and replaced him with Engilbert. However, the latter also supported Lothar and was in turn deposed after the defeat of Alemannic troops loyal to the emperor by Louis's army at the battle of Ries in May 841[129].

After the end of the civil war, Lothar never returned to Italy, entrusted to his son Louis II, but he continued to maintain active contacts with the Italian aristocracy, mostly with the *potentes* of the western and central parts of the *regnum*[130]. As to Louis II, a large retinue of Italian bishops and counts accompanied the king on his expedition to Rome in 844, an expedition without *potentes* from North-Eastern Italy, with the exception of Bernard Count of Verona and Toringarius, Bishop of Concordia[131]. Louis II's rule in Italy also brought about a change in the Verona area, through the strengthening of the ties between Verona and Brescia. In 844, Notting, *vocatus episcopus* of Verona, became titular of the see of Brescia, while Billung, who took his place in Verona, is perhaps to be identified with the eponymous deacon attested in the act of foundation of the monastery of Saints Faustino and Giovita in Brescia, an institution benefited by the same bishop in his will[132]. The transfer of Notting to the city of Brescia is part of the progressive strengthening of the link between the Emperor Lothar's kinship group and the Brescian monastery of San Salvatore: in 848 Lothar granted to his wife, the Empress Ermengard, and their daughter Gisla, the lifetime usufruct of the monastery's possessions[133].

Notting was thus one of the main agents of Lothar's power in Italy, closely linked to Eberhard of Friuli, as emerges from the latest diplomas issued by the Emperor in favour of Veneto-Friuli recipients[134]. These were two confirmations issued on the same day, the 23rd August 843, in Gondreville, the day after the famous meeting at Verdun that sanctioned the division of the empire between the three sons of Louis the Pious[135]. In the first deed, Lothar acted in favour of Ortinus, vassal of the bishop of Verona Notting[136], although it is probable that the geographic horizon of this vassal was in Lombardy, concerning a contract of *precaria* stipulated with the church of Lodi. The second

[128] Goldberg, *Struggle for empire*, pp. 170-171.
[129] Ratpert, *St. Galler Klostergeschichten*, 7, p. 188; MGH, AF, p. 32, *ad annum* 841.
[130] Screen, *Lothar I: the man*.
[131] For the list of Louis II's entourage, LP, vol. 2, pp. 89-90. This is presumably the only attestation of the bishop Toringarius.
[132] CDL, n. 140, coll. 245-248 (841 V 31 – of uncertain authenticity. See Andenna, *Ramperto*). However, this identification is not shared by all: the Alemannic origin of Billung, never made explicit but widely accepted, would not fit with his belonging to the Brescian bishopric (Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino*, p. 60). In any case, there are several Billung in the *Liber vitae* of the monatery of S. Salvatore/S. Giulia (MGH, Libri mem. N.S. IV, p. 78).
[133] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 101, pp. 240-242 (846 III 16, Aachen).
[134] For the relationship between Notting and Eberhard, Schmid, *Kloster Hirsau*, pp. 32-33; Kershaw, *Eberhard of Friuli*, pp. 97-98. The close cooperation between the two *potentes* and the imperial power continued also under Louis II, as witnessed in MGH, *Translatio sancti Callisti*.
[135] Screen, *Lothar I: the man*, pp. 260-261.
[136] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 75, pp. 190-191 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville).

diploma was promulgated for the Church of Aquileia through the intercession of Notting himself and of Eberhard of Friuli, and saw the confirmation to the Church of Aquileia of the donation received from Count Alboin[137]. Alboin's father was Aio, a nobleman from Friuli who took part in the Hrodgaud's revolt in 776, managing to escape and find refuge among the Avars. Captured during the Avar campaigns of Pippin King of Italy, in 796, Aio was brought to Charlemagne who reintegrated him into the Frankish administrative machine, allowing him a few years later to divide his territorial patrimony, scattered across the Friuli, Vicenza and Verona territories, between his three sons Alboin, Ingobert and Agisclaf[138]. In Lothar's diploma, it emerges that Alboin, having become count, had opposed the emperor, although no further details are given[139]. However, it is clear that the Patriarch of Aquileia had an interest in seeing the donations in his favour made by Alboin in his will confirmed, and the direct intervention of two important Frankish magnates such as Notting and Eberhard is a witness as to the importance of the matter[140].

5. *Conclusions*

The affair of Alboin allows us to draw some conclusions about the aristocracy of the North-Eastern area of the *regnum*. Although the diploma does not specify his territorial sphere of pertinence, Alboin is one of the very few Lombard counts attested during the age of Lothar, in a region where the highest echelons of political and religious power appeared to be severely limited, if not excluded, for the Lombard aristocracy. This is evident in Verona: the archdeacon Pacificus, despite his social prestige, was never elected bishop, and the deacon Audo only under Louis II. Episcopal and comital offices were firmly in the hands of men from beyond the Alps, not only along the Adige, but also in Vicenza and in Friuli.

The conflicts with the Carolingian rulers, as witnessed by Ardulf, Ratold, Alboin and other nobles also demonstrate that, regardless of their geographical origin, the high aristocracy in power in Veneto and Friuli, as well as in Rhaetia and Alemannia, was not cohesive in its relations with the upper echelons of Carolingian power. The different oppositions of the individual aristocrats seem to be based on personal rather than ethnic motivations, and do not respond to demands from local power groups: even if "factions" or "parties" had existed, they showed neither coherence nor consistency. Aristocrats and

[137] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 76, pp. 192-193 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville).
[138] MGH, DD Karol. I, n. 209, pp. 279-280 (809 VII 07, Aachen). On Aio, *fidelis* also of Louis the Pious, Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 113-114 and Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 137-142; 223-226.
[139] MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II, n. 76, p. 192: «quod Alboinus quondam comes, priusquam in nostram deveniret offensionem».
[140] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 116-117 and Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, pp. 251-252.

regional *potentes* adopted short-term advantageous positions and abandoned them when they were no longer useful, as can be observed in the episode of Walafrid Strabo. The example of Bishop Ratold is eloquent: his support for Louis the Pious, expressed on two occasions, does not seem to be the result of opposition to the local Lombard dimension, represented by groups supporting Bernard or Lothar. Ratold's deeds appear as an example of *fidele servitium* towards Louis the Pious, most likely aimed at safeguarding his business in Alemannia or elevating his own ecclesiastical rank. In contrast, Lothar, who had supported Ratold's demands on several occasions, only re-established relations with the city of Verona with the death of the latter, with the appointing as bishop of Notting, Lothar's loyal ally.

Alboin also represents one of the last representatives of the wealthy Friulian aristocracy, whose downsizing after 776 left room for the lively Lombard aristocracy of Verona, closely linked to the city's religious institutions, which in turn had expanded the horizon of their interests to a supra-local radius, along important trade routes. An example is the case of Engelbert, who, despite his base of action rooted in Erbé, maintained property and contacts within the walls of Verona. Even the deacon Audo, who came from Valpantena where he continued to hold important property interests throughout his life, based his social rise on close collaboration with the Verona episcopate and the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo. It is also worth noting how various members of Veronese society interacted with both Engelbert and Audo, who had further points in common: a discrete monetary endowment; kinship within the ecclesiastical hierarchies (Engelbert was a relative of Ebbo, abbot of the monastery of San Zeno; Audo's cousin Percarda was abbess[141]); the presence of *vassi* in their network of clients. In contrast to Audo, however, Engelbert, as well as Lupo – also a relatively wealthy, educated layman with interests in town and countryside – did not hold any officially recognised office.

A transalpine aristocracy that continued to maintain active contacts with the regions beyond the Alps counterbalanced these Lombard aristocrats, often with considerable economic and patrimonial resources, waiting to occupy the top ranks on the social ladder. These "foreign" aristocrats probably hoped one day to return to their countries of origin, as evidenced by the numerous journeys between the two sides of the Alps of people such as bishops Ratold of Verona and Andreas of Vicenza or Count Cadolah of Friuli. A transalpine element that for the first half of the ninth century still appears to have little connection with the local population: with a few exceptions, Alemans, Bavarians and Franks appear almost exclusively in a city environment, in relationships (even vassalage) with figures holding public office (counts, bishops, gastalds), often also of transalpine origin[142].

[141] ChLA², LIX, n. 21, pp. 107-109 (856 IV 29, Sezano). The monastery of which Percarda was abbess is unknown.
[142] Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche*, pp. 28-35.

The image of a dynamic aristocratic environment emerges under the surface of an imperial power only superficially interested in the Veneto-Friuli area. Both Lombard and transalpine aristocracies saw high geographical mobility, which was not accompanied by equally pronounced social mobility. We can interpret Lothar's absence in the Veneto-Friuli area as linked to the sovereign's desire to take up the model of government of his father Louis the Pious, hinging on the concept of *stabilitas*[143]: limiting his sphere of action to the western Po valley, he delegated territorial control to aristocrats in whom he placed his trust. The Veneto-Friulian and the Rhaeto-Alemannic areas formed a closely connected and interdependent triangle of political action with the apex of Carolingian power. Every modification or change which occurred at each apex of this triangle, e.g. dynastic clashes, depositions of counts or bishops, territorial divisions, and so on, had repercussions on the other players. «No man is an island», wrote John Donne in the seventeenth century, and this is all the more true in Carolingian Europe, where rulers, counts, bishops, officials, and local societies, albeit apparently distant from each other, were closer than ever before.

[143] Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications*.

Works cited

G. Albertoni, *Law and the peasant: rural society and justice in Carolingian Italy*, in «Early Medieval Europe», 18 (2010), pp. 417-445.

G. Andenna, *Notingo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 78, Roma 2013, pp. 778-781.

G. Andenna, *Ramperto*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 86, Roma 2016, pp. 327-330.

C. Azzara, *Il concilio di Mantova del 6 giugno 827, in Le origini della diocesi di Mantova e le sedi episcopali dell'Italia settentrionale (IV-XI secolo)*, ed. G. Andenna, G.P. Brogiolo, R. Salvarani, Trieste 2006, pp. 61-72.

A. Baronio, *Il monastero di San Faustino nel Medioevo*, in *San Faustino Maggiore di Brescia: il monastero della città*. Atti della giornata nazionale di studio, Brescia, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 11 febbraio 2005, ed. G. Archetti, A. Baronio, Brescia 2006, pp. 49-84.

M. Bassetti, A. Ciaralli, *Sui rapporti tra nazionalità e scrittura*, in *Il patrimonio documentario della Chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Lucca, Archivio arcivescovile, 14-15 novembre 2008, ed. S. Pagano, P. Piatti, Firenze 2010, pp. 285-311.

C. Bertazzo, *Ebrei nell'Alto Adriatico tra Impero d'Occidente, Venezia e Impero d'Oriente. VI-I-X secolo*, in *Medioevo veneto, Medioevo europeo. Identità e alterità*. Atti del convegno, Padova, 1 marzo 2012, ed. Z. Murat, S. Zonno, Padova 2014, pp. 107-122.

T. Bitterauf, *Die Traditionen des Hochstiftes Freising*, 2 vol., München 1905-1909.

L. Bosio, *Le strade romane della* Venetia *e dell'*Histria, Padova 1997².

F. Bougard, *Tesori e* mobilia *italiani dell'alto medioevo*, in *Tesori. Forme e uso della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V-XI)*, ed. S. Gelichi, C. La Rocca, Roma 2004, pp. 69-122.

F. Bougard, *Les Supponides: échec à la reine*, in *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge. Crises et renouvellements*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006, pp. 381-402.

F. Bougard, *Ludovico II, re d'Italia, imperatore*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 66, Roma 2006, pp. 387-394.

E.-M. Butz, A. Zettler, *Two early necrologies: the examples of Remiremont (c. 820) and Verona (c. 810)*, in *Le livre et l'écrit. Texte, liturgie et mémoire dans l'Église du Moyen Âge*, ed. J.-L. Deuffic, Turnhout 2012, pp. 197-242.

A. Castagnetti, *La distribuzione geografica dei possessi di un grande proprietario veronese del secolo IX: Engelberto del fu Grimoaldo*, in «Rivista di storia dell'agricoltura», 9 (1969), pp. 15–26.

A. Castagnetti, *Il Veneto nell'alto medioevo*, Verona 1990.

A. Castagnetti, *Minoranze etniche dominanti e rapporti vassallatico beneficiari. Alamanni e Franchi a Verona e nel Veneto in età carolingia e postcarolingia*, Verona 1990.

A. Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della 'Langobardia' nelle città e nei territori rurali*, in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali*, 2 vol., Spoleto 2009 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 56), II, pp. 539-619.

A. Castagnetti, *Le falsificazioni nella prospettiva storica (secoli IX-XII)*, in *Falsari a Nonantola. I placiti di Ostiglia (820-827) e le donazioni di Nogara (910-911)*, ed. A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, Spoleto 2011, pp. 3-201.

S. Coupland, *Carolingian arms and armour in the ninth century*, in «Viator», 21 (1990), pp. 29-50.

S. Coupland, *The coinage of Lothar I (840-855)*, in «The numismatic chronicle», 161 (2001), pp. 157-198.

F. Curta, *The making of the Slavs: history and archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700*, Cambridge 2001.

M. Dalle Carbonare, *Nuove considerazioni su Tiziano vescovo di Treviso (secolo VIII)*, in «Archivio veneto», 153 (1999), pp. 5-44.

J.R. Davis, *Charlemagne's practice of Empire*, Cambridge 2015.

M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, Cambridge 2009.

P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, Sigmaringen 1997.

P.E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire*, Lincoln, London 1994.

S. Gasparri, *Dall'età longobarda al secolo X*, in *Storia di Treviso*, vol. 2, *Il Medioevo*, ed. D. Rando, G.M. Varanini, Venezia 1991, pp. 3-39.

S. Gasparri, *Istituzioni e poteri nel territorio friulano in età longobarda e carolingia*, in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc. VI-X)*. Atti del XIV Congresso internazionale di Studi

sull'Alto Medioevo, Cividale del Friuli-Bottenicco di Moimacco, 24-29 settembre 1999, Spoleto 2001, pp. 105-128.
S. Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo*, in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen-Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, C. La Rocca, R. Le Jan, Rome 2005, pp. 97-113.
S. Gasparri, *L'identità dell'Italia nordorientale e Venezia. Dalla tarda età longobarda al regno di Berengario*, in *Urban identities in Northern Italy, 800-1100 ca.*, ed. C. La Rocca, P. Majocchi, Turnhout 2015, pp. 57-77.
E.J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: kingship and conflict under Louis the German, 817-876*, Ithaca NY 2006.
M. Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications: réaliser l'empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux*, Turnhout 2012.
J. Grendele, *I vescovi veneti nell'alto medioevo (secoli VIII-inizio XI)*, in «Studi veneziani», 29 (1995), pp. 211-275.
C.I. Hammer, *From* ducatus *to* regnum*: ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and early Carolingians*, Turnhout 2007.
E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960.
E. Hlawitschka, *Ratold, Bischof von Verona und Begründer von Radolfzell*, in «Hegau. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Volkskunde und Naturgeschichte des Gebietes zwischen Rhein, Donau und Bodensee», 54-55 (1997-1998), pp. 5-32.
S. Kaschke, *Die Teilungsprojekte der Zeit Ludwigs des Frommen*, in *La productivité d'une crise. Le règne de Louis le Pieux (814-840) et la transformation de l'Empire*, ed. P. Depreux, S. Esders, Ostfildern 2018, pp. 87-128.
P.J.E. Kershaw, *Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian lay intellectual*, in *Lay intellectuals in the Carolingian world*, ed. P.C. Wormald, J. Nelson, Cambridge 2007, pp. 77-105.
H. Krahwinkler, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter. Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1992.
C. La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona. Il passato carolingio nella costruzione della memoria urbana*, Roma 1995.
C. La Rocca, Paupercula. *Una donna sola tra povertà, disabilità e riscatto (secoli VI-IX)*, in *Donne e povertà nell'Europa mediterranea medievale*, ed. L. Feller, P. Grillo, M. Moglia, Roma 2021, pp. 17-40.
C. La Rocca, L. Provero, *The Dead and Their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and His Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863-864)*, in *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. F.C.W.J. Theuws, J.L. Nelson, Leiden 2000, pp. 225-280.
R. Le Jan, *Mémoire et politique. Les rois d'Italie dans les libri memoriales de Salzbourg, Saint-Gall, Pfäfers et Reichenau (fin VIII^e^-début IX^e^ siècle)*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020 (Haut Moyen Âge, 40), pp. 139-153.
U. Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liber vitae von San Salvatore in Brescia und des Evangeliars von Cividale*, Hannover 1999.
S. Lusuardi Siena, *Le tracce materiali del cristianesimo dal tardo antico al Mille*, in *Il Veneto nel medioevo, dalla "Venetia" alla Marca Veronese*, 2 vol., ed. A. Castagnetti, G.M. Varanini, Verona 1989, II, pp. 87-328.
P. Majocchi, *Pavia città regia: storia e memoria di una capitale altomedievale*, Roma 2008.
J.L. Nelson, *The libera vox of Theodulf of Orléans*, in *Discovery and distinction in the early Middle Ages: studies in honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. C.J. Chandler, S.A. Stofferahn, Kalamazoo 2013, pp. 288-306.
J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, London 1992.
T.F.X. Noble, *The revolt of King Bernard of Italy in 817: its causes and consequences*, in «Studi medievali», 3^rd^ s., 15 (1974), pp. 315-326.
G. Ortalli, *Il ducato e la "civitas Rivoalti". Tra carolingi, bizantini e sassoni*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, vol. 1, *Origini-Età ducale*, ed. L. Cracco Ruggini, Roma 1991, pp. 725-790.
S. Patzold, *Zwischen Gerichtsurteil und politischem Mord: der rätselhafte Tod König Bern-*

hards von Italien im Jahr 818, in *Politische Morde in der Geschichte: von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. G. Schild, A. Schindling, Paderborn 2012, pp. 37-54.
A. Pellegrini, S. Colucciello, *Lo scavo di piazza Santa Maria dei Battuti a Treviso*, in «Archeologia Medievale», 46 (2019), pp. 121-145.
A. Peršič, S. Piussi, *Paolino patriarca di Aquileia: Ritmi e carmi*, Roma 2007 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis, 10, 2).
C. Pizzinato, M. Vianello et al., *Nuovi elementi per la ricostruzione di Treviso medievale. Lo scavo all'ex cinema Astra*, in «Archeologia medievale», 42 (2015), pp. 119-137.
Ratpert, *St. Galler Klostergeschichten (Casus sancti Galli)*, ed. H. Steiner, Hannover 2002 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 75).
B.H. Rosenwein, *The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)*, in «Speculum», 71 (1996), pp. 247-289.
A. Rovelli, *Coins and trade in early medieval Italy*, in «Early Medieval Europe», 17 (2009), pp. 45-76.
F. Santoni, *Scrivere documenti e scrivere libri a Verona*, in *Le Alpi porta d'Europa: scritture, uomini, idee da Giustiniano al Barbarossa*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Cividale del Friuli, 5-7 ottobre 2006, ed. C. Scalon, L. Pani, Spoleto 2009, pp. 173-212.
M. Schäpers, *Lothar I. (795–855) und das Frankenreich*, Wien, Köln, Weimar 2018.
K. Schmid, *Kloster Hirsau und seine Stifter*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1959.
E. Screen, *Lothar I: the man and his entourage*, in *De la mer du Nord à la Méditerranée. Francia Media, une région au coeur de l'Europe (c. 840-c. 1050)*. Actes du Colloque international, Metz, Luxembourg, Trèves, 8-11 février 2006, ed. M. Gaillard, M. Margue, A. Dierkens, Luxembourg, 2011, pp. 255-274.
L. Sernagiotto, Spes optima regni. *L'azione politica di Lotario I (795-855) alla luce delle fonti storico-narrative del secolo IX*, PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Trento, 2017.
A.A. Settia, *Vicenza di fronte ai Longobardi e ai Franchi*, in *Storia di Vicenza*, vol. 2, *L'età medievale*, ed. G. Cracco, Vicenza 1988, pp. 1-24.
Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia (781-810)*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2023.
M. Stoffella, *Rodgaudo, duca del Friuli*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 88, Roma 2017, pp. 78-80.
M. Stoffella, *La basilica e il monastero di S. Zeno nel contesto veronese di fine VIII e inizio IX secolo*, in «Studi Medievali», s. III, 61 (2020), 2, pp. 543-596.
M. Stoffella, In vico Gussilingus. *Comunità locali, ufficiali pubblici minori e amministrazione della giustizia nella Verona carolingia*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020 (Haut Moyen Âge, 40), pp. 175-184.
G. Tondini, *Un modello per il regno dei Carolingi in Italia: l'*Epitome Phillipsiana *e l'identità urbana di Verona dopo il 774*, PhD thesis, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2011.
F. Veronese, In Venetiarum partibus reliquias adportatas*: Reichenau e la costruzione di una rappresentazione agiografica delle* Venetiae *(IX-X secolo)*, in *The Age of Affirmation: Venice, the Adriatic and the Hinterland between the ninth and tenth Centuries*, ed. S. Gasparri, S. Gelichi, Turnhout 2017 (Seminari del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo, 8), pp. 215-261.
F. Veronese, *The struggle for (self-)integration. Manuscripts, liturgy and networks in Verona at the time of Bishop Ratold (c. 802-840/3)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022, pp. 67-90.
F. Veronese, *Entangled Competitions: Rethinking the Council of Mantua (827)*, forthcoming.
G. Vignodelli, *Supponidi*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 94, Roma 2019, pp. 538-541.
V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine heritage, imperial present, and the construction of city identity*, Oxford 2020.
G.G. Wolf, *Das sogenannte "Blutgericht" von Cannstatt 746*, in «Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde», 44 (1998), pp. 1-6.
A. Zettler, *Probleme der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte Churrätiens im Spiegel von Memorialbüchern*, in *Wandel und Konstanz zwischen Bodensee und Lombardei zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*. Kloster St. Johann in Müstair und Churrätien, Tagung 13.-16. Juni 2012 in Müstair, ed. H.R. Sennhauser, Zürich 2013, pp. 261-281.

A. Zettler, *Die karolingischen Grafen von Verona. Überlegungen und Annäherungsversuche*, in *Adel und Königtum im mittelalterlichen Schwaben. Festschrift für Thomas Zotz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Bihrer, M. Kälble, H. Krieg, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 89-114.
A. Zettler, *Über die Verbindungen König Pippins von Italien mit Verona*, in Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia (781-810)*, pp. 51-68.
T. Zotz, *Ludwig der Fromme, Alemannien und die Genese eines neuen Regnum*, in *Wirkungen europäischer Rechtskultur. Festschrift für Karl Kroeschell zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Köbler, München 1997, pp. 1481-1499.
T. Zotz, *Alemannien in der Karolingerzeit. Herrschaftsträger und politische Vororte*, in *Von Gruppe und Gemeinschaft zu Akteur und Netzwerk? Netzwerkforschung in der Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Alfons Zettler zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Beck, M. Butz, Ostfildern 2019, pp. 145-159.

Leonardo Sernagiotto
University of Trento (Italy)
leonardo.sernagiotto@gmail.com
0000-0002-2904-7959

Aristocracies in the Tuscany of Lothar I: birth and structuring of a social network

by Paolo Tomei

The aim of the article is to contribute to the understanding of the structuring processes of the elites in Tuscany from the reign of Lothar I. From a perspective focused on the study of the spaces of political action and the networks of power, I am proposing to examine an area other than the so-far most extensively analysed Lucca, on account of its documentary consistency. I will focus my study on the parental group of the Farolfingi and on a man called Adonaldus, with a significant graphic profile. In following their traces, the scope of investigation extends to Roman Tuscia and Rome itself.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Italy; Tuscany; Rome; Carolingians; Lothar I; elites; networks.

Paolo Tomei, University of Pisa, Italy, paolo.tomei1@unipi.it, 0000-0002-3358-8336

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Paolo Tomei, *Aristocracies in the Tuscany of Lothar I: birth and structuring of a social network*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.12, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 189-211, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

ChLA², LX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LX, Italy XXXII, Verona 2, publ. F. Santoni, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXI, Italy XXXIII, Siena 1, publ. V. Matera, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXII, Italy XXXIV, Siena 2, publ. R. Cosma, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.

ChLA², LXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXIII, Italy XXXV, Siena 3, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2004.

ChLA², LXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVII, Italy XLIX, Lucca 6, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.

ChLA², LXXXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXI, Italy LIII, Lucca 10, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

ChLA², LXXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXII, Italy LIV, Lucca 11, publ. C. Gattagrisi, P. Cordasco, C. Drago, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.

ChLA², LXXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIII, Italy LV, Lucca 12, publ. N. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.

ChLA², LXXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIV, Italy LVI, Lucca 13, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

ChLA², LXXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXV, Italy LVII, Lucca 14, publ. N. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², LXXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo – G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVI, Italy LVIII, Lucca 15, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², XC = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XC, Italy LXII, Arezzo, publ. G. Feo, G. Nicolaj, M. Calleri, C. Tristano, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

ChLA², XCI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part XCI, Italy LXIII, Firenze, publ. L. Iannacci, M. Mezzetti, M. Modesti, A. Zuffrano, Dietikon-Zürich 2012.

ChLA², CXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters,* 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part CXVII, Addenda 1, Dietikon-Zürich 2019.

MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).

MGH, Conc. III = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1984 (MGH, Conc., 3).

MGH, Conc. V = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 875-911*, ed. W. Hartmann, I. Schröder, G. Schmitz, Hannover 2012 (MGH, Conc., 5).

MGH, DD Lo I / Lo II = *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.*, ed. T. Schieffer, München 1979 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3).

MGH, DD Lu II = *Die Urkunden Ludwigs II.*, ed. K. Wanner, München 1994 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 4).

MGH, DD O I = *Conradi I. Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. T. von Sickel, Hannover 1879-1884 (MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 1).

MGH, DD O II = *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, ed. T. von Sickel, Hannover 1893 (MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 2).

MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).
MGH, Epp. VII = *Epistolarum Tomus VII*, ed. E. Caspar, Berlin 1928 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 5).
MGH, Libri mem. N. S. I = *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. J. Autenrieth D. Geuenich, K. Schmid, Hannover 1979 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).
MGH, Libri mem. N. S. IV = *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 1).
MGH, SS XXXVI = Flodoard von Reims, *Die Geschichte der Reimser Kirche*, ed. M. Stratmann, Hannover 1998 (MGH, SS, 36).

Two separate though interlinked perspectives have allowed me to put together a picture which I would illustrate as follows. The first perspective is that of the study of the Lucca charters, aimed at reconstructing features and times of formation of the aristocratic network between the eighth and the twelfth centuries. The second derives from two recent insights, the first focusing on the political trajectories and the spaces of action and relations of the counts, later marquises, of the Adalberti kinship in the ninth century; the other from the study of the bishops who came to Lucca under Lothar I, bearers of a new political writing and culture[1].

Starting with Lothar I's first stay in Italy in 822, and even more so after his stable presence in the Kingdom from 834 onwards, we see in Lucca a redefinition of the spaces of public power, even the monumental ones, establishing the framework of a renewed *iustitia*, and of the power relations within them. Several figures, of local or foreign origin, went on to form a composite and harmonious balance until the death of Lothar's son Louis II: counts and bishops, *missi* and vassals, in direct relation with the royal *curtis*. Thanks to their mediation, a social network took shape locally, that underwent a process of mobility and differentiation because of the material and symbolic capital redistributed in the public sphere. Under Lothar I and Louis II, the gradual ascending path to the coordinating centre of the political universe, reflected in the justice administration reports and in the provisions relating to military campaigns in Southern Italy, primarily concerned individuals capable of distinguishing themselves within a network, and of maintaining close proximity to the public authority, rather than families structured along the patrilineal axis, endowed with automatic mechanisms for the transmission of power and prestige.

Two strata can be observed, corresponding to two levels of rank and wealth, and to two chronologies of distinction. A first stratum, which succeeded in achieving comital *honores*, emerged in the second quarter of the ninth century: to it is ascribed the kinship group that historians have called Aldobrandeschi, studied by Simone Collavini[2]. A second stratum emerged in the third quarter of the same century, following in the footsteps of the first:

[1] Tomei, *Spazi politici*; Tomei, *Writing, textuality*.
[2] Collavini, «Honorabilis domus».

to it are ascribed the parental groups that I have called "Figli di Rodilando", "Cunimundinghi", and "Figli di Huscit"[3]. These are labels of convenience coined by historians: the groups in question originated from individuals with no surname, who had to negotiate their position at every generational shift, both outside and within the parental network to which they belonged. The aim of this paper is to verify the above-mentioned framework by adopting a broader outlook, which makes the Lucca case interact with other geographical-documentary contexts in Tuscany[4].

1. *Halfway between Siena e Chiusi*

To look for a possible counterpart to the Aldobrandeschi, it is necessary to move from Lucca, the heart of Lombard *Tuscia*, and to observe the other major regional power space: Chiusi and Roman *Tuscia*, where the individuals I group under the label Farolfingi acted. I am going to reconstruct a sort of prehistory of the comital family of Chiusi and Orvieto studied by Amleto Spicciani for the 11th and 12th centuries[5]. For the earlier phases there are only a few insights, carried out by Hansmartin Schwarzmaier[6], and a few documentary traces. They are, however, sufficient to reconstruct the origins of the group. These sources come from two of the most important monasteries in Central Italy, both gravitating within the public orbit: S. Salvatore at Monte Amiata and S. Clemente at Casauria[7].

The Amiata charters shed both direct and retrospective light on the first generations of the Farolfingi. They are recognisable on three grounds. First, for the onomastic correspondences, indicated by the sequence Farao-Farolfus; second, for the rural horizon, centred on the area between Siena and Chiusi, especially Montepulciano, the object of contention between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena due to the lack of correspondence between civil and ecclesiastical boundaries (it was in the diocese of Arezzo, but in the *iudicaria* of Siena)[8]; finally, for traits of distinction that suggest their eminent rank.

On 20 August 862, a charter of sale was drawn up in Chiusi. Farolfus I, son of the late Farao I, who lived in *casale Graciani* (Gracciano), sold to the priest Celestine the half of a *res* in *casale Feroniano* (Frignano) that had been bequeathed to him by his father. His father's inheritance had already been divided: the other half had remained with his uncle Barbencius. The transaction was concluded for a considerable price: a sword with a silver belt to the

[3] Tomei, Milites elegantes.
[4] A regional overview in Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana*.
[5] Spicciani, *I Farolfingi*; on p. 281 one could see potential encouragement towards this research path.
[6] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 118-122, 194-202.
[7] Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori*; Feller, *Les Abruzzes*.
[8] Bougard, *A Vetustissimis Thomis*.

value of 20 *solidi*[9]. It is a significant object, suggesting a profile of eminence. An interesting parallel can be established with Engelbert of the late Grimoald from Erbè, near Verona: his testamentary provisions have been studied in detail, with a particular focus on *mobilia* as social markers[10]. Among the witnesses is also Farolfus II, whom I identify with the son of Farolfus I. The two use elementary scripts, but with some ability: Farolfus I with a cursive base; Farolfus II with some Carolingian elements (a sign of a more up-to-date education). This is the last living mention of Farolfus I and Barbencius.

The act later flowed as *munimen* into the Amiata archives. The monastery was here accumulating assets starting from an original fiscal core. Evidence of this is provided by other *munimina* concerning the same locality (e.g., a donation of January 854, where a Farolfus also subscribes, but not in autograph[11]) and the diploma issued from Pavia on 4th July 853 by Louis II to the monastery. In the list of properties granted by the Emperor to the Amiata monastery, there are *angariales* in Frignano. The diploma has been interpolated, but this does not affect, however, this passage. At the time, the monastery was entrusted to the care of the imperial *fidelis* Adalbert, almost certainly the Marquis of Tuscany Adalbert I, who governed it as lay abbot[12].

Given the peculiarity of the anthroponym and the context of its occurrence, Barbencius could be identified with a homonym that stands out in the Amiata charters. He was the first witness to sign, in August 827, the charters of sale and *livello* issued by the Abbot Audualdus in Chiusi, which compose a sort of leasing back[13]. Under his, there is the signature of Anseramus, to be distinguished on a palaeographic basis from the imperial vassal of the same name attested in the *placitum* of Siena in October 833[14]. Barbencius was also a bystander and second subscriber to the *breve* that records the dispute between the same abbot and the rector of the church of S. Donatus in Asso, located in the *gaio* of *Citiliano*. The judgement was held in May 828 not far away, near the church of *Baiano*, and was presided over by a *missus* of Bishop Lampert of Arezzo (although in the territory of Siena): the deacon Peter of the late Barbula *sculdascius* of Arezzo. At the centre of the dispute was land in *Baiano*, with which the abbot was invested[15].

[9] ChLA², LXIII, n. 2, pp. 26-27 (862 VIII 20, Chiusi).
[10] ChLA², LX, n. 25, pp. 109-117 (846 V 28, Erbè). La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona*, pp. 115-119; Gasparri, *I testamenti*, pp. 105-106; Bougard, *Tesori e mobilia*.
[11] ChLA², LXII, n. 39, pp. 138-140 (854 I, Siena).
[12] MGH, DD, Lu II., n. 11, pp. 83-87 (853 VII 4, Pavia). Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 55-56; Roebert, *Herrscherurkunden*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 13, 42. On Amiata's possessions in Frignano, see Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori*, pp. 66, 228-229.
[13] ChLA², LXII, n. 7-8, pp. 35-39 (827 VIII, Chiusi). On Amiata *livelli*, their relationship with the series of diplomas for the monastery, and the leasing backs, see Tabarrini, *Détecter*.
[14] ChLA², XC, n. 5, pp. 32-39 (833 X, Siena); < https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscani-toscana-14/ > [21/12/2024].
[15] ChLA², LXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (828 V, *Baiano*); < https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscani-toscana-13/ > [21/12/2024]. Delumeau, *Arezzo*, pp. 247-248; Allegria, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 13-14.

In a nutshell, the analysis of these hitherto little-considered charters makes it possible to align the social mobility paths of the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi. The rise in the local social fabric occurred for both kinship groups during this generation, which was active between the 820s and 860s, particularly with Eriprand I of the late Hildeprand I and Farolfus I of the late Farao I. It is also an onomastic genesis. The roots of the surname labels that qualify the groups in historiography can be identified at that time, from an anthroponym that was later transmitted more frequently so as to become the *Leitname* of their respective descendants.

Nevertheless, a difference between the two groups stands out. Unlike the Aldobrandeschi, the Farolfingi are characterised by their non-urban extraction: they originated in the fiscal area of Montepulciano (Gracciano), on the Chiusi-Siena-Arezzo border. They also differ in that they gravitated not towards one, but towards several urban centres. They had interests and activities halfway between Siena and Chiusi, near Montepulciano (Frignano), and in the other vast fiscal area of *Citiliano*, around Montalcino[16]. This leads back to their main point of contact: their relationship with the fisc and the imperial court[17]. The momentum since the 820s was not generated by dynamics endogenous to local societies, but by the action of external forces. Thanks to their proximity to the rulers, Farolfus I and the sons of Hildeprand I achieved not only local distinction, but also the opening up of their action and relationship horizons on a very wide scale[18].

2. *The second cohort*

Eriprand I of the late Hildeprand I, and Farolfus I of the late Farao I, occupied a key position in the support network of Lothar I and Louis II, which, according to the arrangements made at the synod in *Francia* in the Spring of 847, when Lothar I and his son convened *ad commune colloquium* to respond to the Saracen sacking of Rome, contributed to the construction of the Leonine Wall, escorted Louis II to Southern Italy in the Spring of 848, and formed a basic framework for imperial action in the Kingdom in the following decades[19]. The correspondences with the power network that participated in the contemporaneous reorganisation of S. Salvatore in Brescia, commemorated in the *Liber vitae* of the monastery below the Emperor, are significant[20].

[16] Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung*, pp. 274-280. The fisc is a subject of growing interest in the historiographic reflection of the last decade; see *Biens publics*.
[17] For the Aldobrandeschi, see Collavini, *Honorabis domus*, pp. 51-70.
[18] On the importance of political spaces and the relational dimension in the study of elites, see Collavini, *Spazi politici*; Provero, *Gli spazi politici*.
[19] MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, pp. 133-139 (846 X, *Francia*); https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/en/capit/post840/bk-nr-203/ [18/10/2023]. Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 17, 19, 36-37. On the dating of the expedition, see Zielinski, *Ein unbeachteter Italienzug*.
[20] Bougard, *La cour*; Lazzari, *Una santa*. Gisela's entry into the monastery takes place during the same timeframe as the expedition: MGH, DD Lo I., n. 101, pp. 240-242 (848 III 16, Aachen).

Those who participated in the expedition to the South then had their daughters enter the monastery together with Gisela, daughter of Lothar I[21].

In the imperial army, Eriprand I and Farolfus I were standard-bearers of the *secunda scara* led by Guy I (Duke of Spoleto) and Adalbert I (Marquis of Tuscany). At the synod it was also decided that Guy I should go as *missus* to Benevento, together with a bishop Peter and an Anselm *vocatus episcopus*, i.e. elected by the Emperor but not yet consecrated[22]. The latter is probably identical to the Anselm *vocatus episcopus* commemorated in direct proximity to Louis II in Reichenau's *Liber vitae* with a significant sequence: Guy and Itta[23]. Itta is in fact the name of Guy I's wife, daughter of the Duke of Benevento: their marriage is related to his choice as *missus*[24]. There is, however, uncertainty about the identification of the other envoy. The most likely candidate is, in my opinion, Bishop Peter of Spoleto[25].

Like the two *signiferi*, he is a man who can be placed within the imperial design to control the duchies of Central Italy, so as to encircle Rome and turn the gaze to the South. All three obtained key positions between Tuscany and Spoleto in those years, immediately after the Treaty of Verdun, and were very active on the Roman scene. Guy I became Duke of Spoleto around 842[26]. Adalbert I returned to Lucca and assumed the title of Marquis around 845, and after 850 he ruled Amiata as a lay abbot. Adalbert's bond with Guy I was further strengthened later on when he became his son-in-law[27]. The first mention of Peter as bishop of Spoleto is at Court, on 26th May 843, when he interceded with Lothar I in Aachen for the monastery of S. Maria of Farfa, which had been entrusted to him by the Emperor[28]. Attested one last time in 861, he was one of the four bishops sent by Lothar I and Louis II to the Roman council of December 853 presided over by Pope Leo IV. With him were Jo-

[21] MGH, Libri mem. N. S. IV, pp. 8v, 42v-43v (Facsimile). Ludwig, *Die Anlage*, pp. 64-68; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 38-39. Notably, the *missi* and *signiferi* of the first and second cohort can be compared with a sequence: «Eberardus, Liutfrid, Adelgis, Berenardus, Adelbert».

[22] Pöschl, *Der vocatus episcopus*. This is how Notingo, a key pawn in the mobile power geography of the Kingdom, was called when he interceded in two diplomas at Court: he had been chosen to succeed Ratold in Verona on the emperor's decision. The title marks, so the speak, the transitional status: MGH, DD Lo I., nn. 75-76, pp. 190-193 (843 VIII 22, Gondreville); Schäpers, *Lothar I.*, p. 303; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 35 (the sudden appearance of *episcopi vocati* in these years is a reflection of Lothar I's activity in the Kingdom). We do not know for which bishopric Anselm was destined and whether he was eventually consecrated.

[23] MGH, Libri mem. N. S. I, p. 98 (Facsimile): to the left of the Emperor Lothar I's name: «Hludouuicus imperator, Anshelmus vocatus episcopus, Vuito, Hitta». Rappmann, *Das Totengedenken*, p. 432.

[24] Hlawitschka, *Die Widonen*, pp. 30-33; Bougard, *La cour*, p. 254. The marriage must have taken place around 843.

[25] The opinion is shared by Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 36.

[26] Gasparrini Leporace, *Cronologia*, pp. 22-23.

[27] Keller, *La marca di Tuscia*, pp. 128-129; Tomei, *Spazi politici*. Between 864 and 875 Adalbert I married Rothild, daughter of Guy I and Itta.

[28] MGH, DD Lo I., n. 73, pp. 188-189 (843 V 26, Aachen); Bougard, *La cour*, p. 252; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 35, 41: the entrusting to Peter is recorded in the diploma with which the monastery was restored to its ordinary status. A profile in Nessi, *La diocesi di Spoleto*, pp. 875-876.

seph of Ivrea, Peter II of Arezzo, and Notingo of Brescia – he is second only to Joseph in the order of signature of the acts[29]. His relationship with the Pope, and his intermediary role with the imperial court and Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, also emerges from the papal register for the year 853[30].

For the same reason, that is to say a close involvement at Court, particularly in the *secunda scara* to the expedition carried out in the spring of 848, I propose the identification of Bishop Peter with Farolfus I's brother of the same name. Besides Barbencius, Farolfus I also had a brother who had made an ecclesiastical career and had become a bishop: indeed, his name was Peter. Both were already deceased by 1st January 864, when the three sons of Farolfus I, called *de comitatu Senense*, the deacon and chaplain Farimundus (another high-profile clergyman), Farao II, and Farolfus II (who had been a witness to his father's last mention two years earlier) donated to their *dominus et senior*, the emperor Louis II, assets that had come to them as part of the succession from their father and from their uncle, Bishop Peter[31].

The lack of reference to the three brothers, Farolfus I, Barbencius, and Bishop Peter all together in the same act does not hinder the reconstruction. There was still no automatic mechanism for the division of inheritance. This could be managed without being divided up, as in the case of the sons of Farolfus I (see the donation of 864), or the co-heirs could divide things up in various ways, in lots and shares, as had been the case with the inheritance of Farao I (see the sale of 862).

The life span and profile of Peter of Spoleto are perfectly compatible with him being Farolfus I's brother, as well as with the various spheres of action of his descendants, the Farolfingi, of whom I will speak shortly. Less probable, though it cannot be ruled out, is the hypothesis of Schwarzmaier, who thought, rather, of Bishop Peter I of Arezzo[32]. His pontificate is documented with certainty from 833 to 843, when he is attested for the last time at the court of Lothar I immediately after Verdun, on 28th and 29th August, at Remiremont[33]. He must be distinguished from his successor of the same name, Peter II, who appears with certainty at the aforementioned Roman synod of 853 and who, even in the relations between Pope Leo IV and Hincmar, acted alongside and somewhat as a subordinate to Peter of Spoleto[34]. Clearly, the picture does not change much: due to their frequentations at court, the two homonymous bishops from Arezzo are a possible alternative to Peter of Spoleto, also with

[29] MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma).
[30] MGH, Epp. V, nn. 11, 24, pp. 589-590, 600.
[31] *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).
[32] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 194-195.
[33] MGH, DD Lo I., nn. 78-79, pp. 195-198 (843 VIII 28-29, Remiremont); Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 35: he is likely to have attended the assembly in Verdun as well as Peter of Spoleto and Notingo *episcopus vocatus* of Verona.
[34] MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma); MGH, SS XXXVI, pp. 207-208. On the two bishops of Arezzo with the same name, see Delumeau, *Arezzo*, p. 490; Allegria, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 14-17.

reference to the mission with Guy I in Benevento. However, the dates make it inconceivable to speculate on the passage of a Peter from Arezzo to Spoleto, as it happened for Bishop Notingo who, through imperial design, became a moving figure in the ecclesiastical and political frame of the Kingdom, moved as he was from Verona to Brescia[35]. I will now turn my attention to this political frame.

3. *Vassals and chaplains*

It is possible to grasp the truly specular ascending path of the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi by studying the networks of power and government that were structured in Italy under Lothar I and Louis II, as reconstructed by François Bougard[36]. To affirm their place, it was essential for these kinship groups to forge a direct and personal relationship with the rulers, marked by the relational designation of *vassus domni imperatoris*, employed above all in the *placitum* reports[37]. In the case of Farolfus I there is no explicit evidence of this, although his call as standard-bearer alongside an imperial vassal such as Eriprand I in the expedition to Southern Italy could suggest a personal bond with the emperor. A relationship mediated by the leaders of the second cohort, the Dukes Guy I and Adalbert I, cannot be excluded. However, the link with the emperor becomes apparent in the following generation.

In the donation charter of 1 January 864, Louis II is referred to as *dominus et senior* of Farolfus I's sons: the deacon Farimundus, Farao II, and Farolfus II[38]. The act served to reinforce the bond of the kinship group with the emperor at the generational turn. To conclude the donation according to law, Louis II gave the three brothers a counter gift, called *launegild*[39]. It is, remarkably, a horse. This is proof of close and direct proximity to Louis II, and thus also of their rank in the social system: the horse is the most honourable gift, generally intended for emperors[40]. In this case, the horse moves, so to speak, in the opposite direction compared to the annual general assembly held at the palace, where it is donated by the magnates[41].

Thanks to their connections with the central authority, through services rendered with horse and pen, both kinship groups succeeded in obtaining episcopal offices in the major centres of political coordination of the Central Italian duchies: certainly Jeremiah, Eriprand I's son, in Lucca, from 852 to

[35] Andenna, *Notingo*.
[36] Bougard, *La cour*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 34-39.
[37] Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 47-50; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*.
[38] *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).
[39] Wickham, *Compulsory gift exchange*.
[40] Bougard, *Tesori e mobilia*, pp. 87-88.
[41] Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 74-75; Albertoni, *L'elefante*, pp. 55-59.

867, and perhaps Peter in Spoleto[42]. Decisive was their accession to the circle of court clerics (chaplains, chancellors, and simple *Notare*, i.e., writers of diplomas), to which Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi and Farimundus Farolfingi belonged, in the same generation. This was the education environment of the ecclesiastical elites in the Kingdom[43].

Episcopal recruitment took place within this body, in which one also finds brothers and sons of imperial vassals of local origin. As for Tuscany, it was the case of John, formerly arch-chancellor, in Arezzo, and for the chancellor Plato in Pisa, from 865[44]; of the chaplain Teudilascius Cunimundinghi, formerly archdeacon and factotum in Lucca of Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi, in Luni from 867[45]; of Gerard I, whose writing is strongly chancery-like, in Lucca, from 869 (possibly son of the imperial vassal Godfrey, recorded in a *placitum* in Lucca in 844 with Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi)[46]; and of the notary of diplomas Gauginus in Volterra, from 874[47].

The group was at first dominated by the arch-chaplain Joseph, bishop of Ivrea (attested one last time in 855), and the Archchancellor Ructemirus, from 858 bishop of Novara, who were key connecting figures between Lothar I and Louis II[48]. During the long stay of Louis II in Southern Italy, from 866 to 872, when formal references to an archchancellor disappeared in diplomas, and archchaplains were no longer attested, the deacon Farimundus Farolfingi became the central figure in this circle[49]. Nevertheless, his career does not seem to have ended by his gaining an episcopal chair, but the sources may be lacking here.

These clerics were the main agents and vectors of political communication between the emperor and the various local forces in the Kingdom, through the writing of diplomas, their dispatch as imperial *missi*, and the common participation in assembly deliberations. The same sources which throw light on the network through which the imperial government unfolded (capitularies, conciliar canons) are preserved thanks to the cultural depth and activity of people like Joseph of Ivrea and Ructemirus of Novara. I can add one example besides the library that can be traced back to Joseph's long pontificate in Ivrea: the list and dispositions made for the expedition to Rome and Southern Italy (which also involved Joseph) can be found only in manuscripts from

[42] MGH, DD Lu II., n. 6, pp. 76-77 (852 X 3, *curte Auriola*): «cui (*scil.* Hieremiae) ipsum dedimus episcopatum»; Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 50-51. His script has marked chancery traits: ChLA², LXXXI, n. 13, pp. 48-49 (857 I 2, Lucca).
[43] Ghignoli, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 634-635.
[44] ChLA², LXXXII, nn. 3-4, pp. 22-29 (865 IV, Lucca); Allegria, *Manu mea subscripsi*, pp. 14-17. *Carte dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa*, n. 23, pp. 60-62 (865 V, Pisa).
[45] ChLA², LXXXII, n. 30, pp. 107-109 (867 III 12, Lucca); Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 135-137.
[46] ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); LXXXIII, n. 23, pp. 78-81 (874 III 21, Lucca); LXXXV, n. 1, pp. 16-18 (882 I 20, Lucca); Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*, pp. 246, 257.
[47] MGH, DD Lu II., n. 69, pp. 201-202 (874 XII 8, Coriano).
[48] Bougard, *La cour*, pp. 253, 256-257; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 37; Gavinelli, *Il vescovo Giuseppe*.
[49] MGH, DD Lu II., pp. 1-26; Bougard, *La cour*, p. 261; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 26.

Novara[50]. This network could be studied by looking for the hands that were involved in the writing of diplomas among the great clerics of the Kingdom, in both manuscripts and charters, according to the model elaborated by Wolfgang Huschner for the Ottonian realm[51].

The presence in Tuscany of outsider clergymen, apparently out of context, in acts of great importance, close to the major officials present in the region under Lothar I and Louis II, is revealing. It becomes quite understandable when one thinks of this connective tissue. A bishop Sigefred signed in 845 the *livello* with which Hagano received temporary compensation, while waiting to obtain a royal *beneficium*, for having lost the office of count of Lucca in favour of Adalbert I. Sigefred was probably the bishop of Reggio of the same name, attested the year before in Rome at the royal coronation of Louis II and, in 853, as imperial *missus* in Ravenna[52]. A bishop Peter, either of Spoleto or of Arezzo, subscribed below the Count Palatine Hucpold in the ordination charter, written *ex iussione* of the emperor, by which Hucpold's daughter Bertha became abbess of the monastery of S. Andrea in Florence in 852. The Ripuarian Hucpold appeared on the Italian scene as *signifer* of the *scara Francisca* in the 848 expedition, a similarly position to the Lombards Eriprand I and Farolfus I[53]. Finally, a *levita* called Leodoin signed the charter of endowment of the monastery of S. Salvatore in Fontebona, in 867, by the Salian count of Siena Winigis, whose first attestation is as *armiger* in the retinue of the emperor and the Count Palatine Hucpold near Jesi, in 860[54]. I support his identification with the Leodoin *sacerdos* who made the *recognitio* of a diploma *advicem* of Farimundus in 869 in Venosa, and later became bishop of Modena from 871[55]. Tuscany and its marquises under Louis II were far from separate from the surrounding regions, and were embedded in wider networks.

[50] < https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/mss/novara-bc-xxx/ > [21/12/2024]. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, pp. 395-399. I would like to thank Michele Baitieri for the discussion on this issue.

[51] Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation*.

[52] Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», p. 45; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*, pp. 234-236; Tomei, Milites elegantes, p. 42.

[53] *Le carte della canonica*, n. 2, pp. 6-9 (852 X 19, Firenze); Manarini, *I due volti*, pp. 37-49. An identification on a palaeographic basis is not possible since the charter is preserved in a copy of the eleventh century.

[54] *Il cartulario della Berardenga*, n. 53, pp. 428-433 (867 II); *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1190, pp. 1905-1908 (860 III, between Jesi and Caminata Picena); Cammarosano, *La famiglia*, pp. 65-70.

[55] MGH, DD Lu II., n. 49, pp. 161-162 (869 V 29, Venosa); Manarini, *Per Padum fluvium*, pp. 142-143. On Leodoin, see Al Kalak, *Leodoino*; Heil, *Bishop Leodoin*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 84, 102-103 (assuming a bond with the kinship of the Widonids). A palaeographical comparison is again not possible.

4. *In the area of Tuscania*

After Verdun and the royal coronation of Louis II in 844, the political dialectic between Pavia, Lucca, Spoleto, and Rome intensified. If its protagonists were the Dukes Adalbert I and Guy I, it involved many actors, among them, men on the rise, from whom the Farolfingi and the Aldobrandeschi descended. There is more: compared to the latter, the former had closer and more evident ties to the papal court. At this chronological point, this parental group established a connection, perhaps even a marriage, with the future Pope John VIII, son of a Gundo. As archdeacon, John played a prominent role at the Roman council of December 853 for the deposition of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, as did Peter of Spoleto[56]. A sister of John allegedly married a nephew of Bishop Peter, Farolfus II. Their son Farolfus III is later said to be the pope's nephew[57].

Farolfus I and Bishop Peter possessed *curtes* in the territory of Tuscania and on Lake Bolsena. This is shown by the oft-mentioned donation to Louis II on 1 January 864[58]. The localisations proposed by Hansmartin Schwarzmaier must, in fact, be reconsidered[59]. The document was written in the presence of the emperor, within the *caminata* of the church of S. Pietro, in the *curtis* of *Rufano*. The brothers donated a *curtis* situated *in finibus Tuscane*, in *Palme*. The act is preserved as transcribed in the *Chronicon Causauriense*. As usual, it follows the fate of the property for which it constitutes a title of ownership.

Louis II donated this *curtis*, on 1 September 874, to S. Clemente at Casauria, a monastery he founded on the border between the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. The diploma issued at the *curtis* of Olona was interpolated, but not in these passages[60]. It concerns the assets the Emperor had obtained from Farimundus, Farao II, and Farolfus II *per totam Tusciam*: the *curtes* of *Hisiano* and *Palme*. The diploma also includes what Farimundus himself had obtained after the hereditary division with his brothers: the fifth portion of the *curtes* of *Pao*, *Pantanola*, *Venena*, and in the city of Tuscania – only three brothers are known, confirming the variability of the partition mechanisms within a single generation.

Palme is not S. Martino alla Palma, near Scandicci in the Florentine area, where the marquis of Tuscany held estates much later, at the end of the tenth century. Schwarzmaier has founded his assumption on this[61]. Instead, *Rufano* is well attested in contemporary charters since the interests of both S.

[56] MGH, Conc. III, n. 32, pp. 308-436 (853 XII, Roma).
[57] MGH, Epp. VII, n. 225, p. 200. A figurative sense of the term *nepos* seems to be ruled out.
[58] *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1191, pp. 1909-1911 (864 I 1, *Rufano*).
[59] Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 187-188, 194.
[60] MGH, DD Lu II., n. 64, pp. 191-194 (874 IX 1, Corteolona); Doublier, *Fälschungen*, pp. 482-500. On the foundation, see Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 22, 31-32, 42.
[61] *Carte della Badia di Settimo*, App. n. 1, pp. 251-255 (988 III 25-989 III 24); Manarini, *I due volti del potere*, pp. 172-174.

Salvatore at Monte Amiata and S. Maria of Farfa converged here[62]. It is in the territory of Tuscania: not far from Valentano, on the shores of Lake Bolsena (the toponym probably remains today at Monte Rosano)[63]. The study of the *Nachurkunden* for Casauria confirms the proposal: the *curtes* formerly held by the Farolfingi are to be placed between Rieti and Tuscania[64]. The expression *per totam Tusciam* should be understood with specific reference to Roman *Tuscia*; *in finibus Tuscane* in the strict sense with the region of Tuscania. Thus, the interaction between Bishop Peter and his brother Farolfus I with the papal court is better understood, and is even richer in nuances: this cluster of *curtes* was not so distant from Leopolis, the new city founded in 854 by Pope Leo IV to replace *Centumcellae*[65].

In the *Chronicon Causauriense*, the donation is preceded by a *placitum* report, which also passed in the archives of Casauria as a result of the endowment by Louis II. The judgement, held at Jesi in March 860, and written at the dictation of the archchancellor Ructemirus, testifies to the closeness of the Tuscan magnates to Louis II, their presence in the court retinue and their common action in Central Italy. It is presided over by the *comes stabuli* Adalbert, probably the Marquis of Tuscany. Among the bystanders are the *comes palatii* Hucpold and the *armiger* Winigis (as previously mentioned later count of Siena, in his first attestation)[66]. The *comes stabuli* and the *comes palatii*, here at the height of their careers, had taken their first steps in the Kingdom with the expedition planned by Lothar I in 847, as stated in the incipit of the synod, *pro edificatione Novę Romę* (i.e., the Leonine City)[67]. Distinguished among the men in the military ranks of the expedition were Eriprand I and Farolfus I.

In my opinion, therefore, the construction of both the Leonine City (between 848 and 852) and Leopolis could be read not only in a reactive, defensive, and anti-Saracen key, but as a structural and proactive action, for the reorganisation of the networks of power and relations over a very wide space, open to southern Tuscany[68]. The acquisition of the title of count by Hildeprand II (at the latest in 857), son of the imperial vassal Eriprand I and

[62] ChLA², LXI, nn. 12, pp. 46-47 (808 IV, Tuscania), 37, pp. 124-125 (822 XI, *Mariano*), LXII, n. 3, pp. 20-24 (825 V, *Margarita*), LXIII, nn. 6, pp. 24-25 (860 V, *Cuniclu*), 12, pp. 43-46 (866 II, *Beturianu*); *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*, n. †90, pp. 181-188 (823 IX 1, *Rofanu*); *Il regesto di Farfa*, nn. 227, p. 188 (817 V, *Rofano*), 284, pp. 239-240 (840 VIII, Viterbo).
[63] Del Lungo, *Presenze abbaziali*, pp. 30, 38, 79, 106-107.
[64] MGH, DD O I., n. 353, pp. 485-487 (967 XII 23, Roma); DD O II., n. 248, pp. 279-281 (981 IV 18, Roma); Doublier, *Fälschungen*, pp. 501-511. The same proposal is already in Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung*, pp. 4, 263-264, 292.
[65] Marazzi, *Le città nuove*; Stasolla, *Leopoli-Cencelle*.
[66] *Liber instrumentorum*, n. 1190, pp. 1905-1908 (860 III, between Jesi and Caminata Picena). Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 39, however, has raised doubts about the identity of the *comes stabuli*.
[67] MGH, Conc. III, n. 12, pp. 133-139 (846 X, *Francia*).
[68] On the internal tensions within the Roman aristocracy after the Saracen sacking and in the early years of Leo IV's pontificate, see Betti, *The two versions*. On the Leonine Wall and the *decus Urbis*, see Internullo, *Decus Urbis*, p. 172.

brother of the bishop of Lucca Jeremiah, and the granting by Pope Benedict III of the cities and *comitatus* of Roselle and Sovana, probably in favour of the count himself (between 855 and 858), can be interpreted from the same perspective[69]. It was a process of reorganisation that involved Pavia and Rome synergistically, with the formation of new social networks and the redefinition of power spaces.

5. *Under the marquis' wing*

After the death of Louis II in 875, the long phase of stability that had led to an expansion of the aristocratic body, which had begun after the structural crisis caused by the intervention of Lothar I, came to an end. Like the Aldobrandeschi and the main groups in Lucca that had emerged in their wake, the Farolfingi also experienced a downsizing and were placed more strictly under the control of the marquis. They did not limit their sphere of action, but any interaction with external powers, in particular Pavia and Rome, began to take place not autonomously, but more and more in connection with the Marquises Adalbert I and II, who acted as an unavoidable interface. The Adalberti became, in a broader and regional viewpoint, the central hub of connection for the entire aristocratic body. This did not only concern the major kinship groups and the political heart of Lombard *Tuscia*, Lucca, placed under the firmest control of the Marquises[70]. Take the case of Florence, for which it might be useful to explain the process.

In Florence, Marquis Adalbert I had a position of great influence, with a vassal already documented in 852 at the installation charter of Hucpold's daughter as abbess in the monastery of S. Andrea. The charters that shed light on the core of the city, those relating precisely to S. Andrea and the *placitum* reports, however, display a multi-faceted spectrum. Here we have not only the count, i.e. the marquis, and his vassals, but also viscounts and bishops of foreign origin (such as Rodingus, already *missus* in Lucca for Lothar I in 840, who uses an elegant Carolingian script)[71]. Above all, it was the presence of the Hucpoldings that counterbalanced the power of the marquis[72]. A similar function was performed in Siena by Count Winigis, who was a man from the Court and had a wide range of action. The comital lineage known as the Berardenghi descended from him[73].

[69] Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 51-57.
[70] Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 359-367.
[71] ChLA², LXXVII, n. 35, pp. 107-111 (840 II, Lucca); LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze); *Le carte della canonica*, nn. 2, pp. 6-9 (852 X 19, Firenze), 6, pp. 19-21 (893 III 1, Firenze).
[72] Manarini, *I due volti*.
[73] ChLA², LXXXII, nn. 3-4, pp. 22-29 (865 IV, Lucca), LXIII, n. 13, pp. 47-49 (867 IX-868 III, Roselle); Cammarosano, *La famiglia*. Manacorda, *Siena e Roma*, pp. 14-18, speculated that he could be identified with the count of the same name, father of Paulus *nobilissimus vir* and *Ro-*

Those who, in Florence, aspired to social advancement needed to pass through the Court, though not necessarily through the marquis. The local interlocutors, the channels of connection with the most powerful spheres, could have been others. In the group picture of 852, there is also a Raimbaldus. He is almost certainly the homonymous imperial *fidelis* who, with his son Jeremiah, appears in a diploma of 854 issued in *Scalarico*, in the territory of Pistoia[74]. The imperial chaplain Roderic, through the intercession of Ructemirus, asked Louis II to confirm the privilege of Pope Leo IV with reference to the life usufruct of the monastery of S. Maria in Mugello. Just as Roderic had already succeeded the deceased Rodilandus, so after his death he was to be succeeded by Raimbaldus and his son Jeremiah. The Emperor, for his part, also granted Raimbaldus the nearby *curtis* of Ronta, also in Mugello. Raimbaldus thus used the intermediation of the chaplain Roderic, who was as close to Leo IV as to Louis II and was able to obtain diplomas from them[75].

To create such mobility path, it was necessary to connect with men documented above all in Lucca from the 840s in relation to public justice and the fiscal redistributive circuit: the first aristocratic stratum in which there were imperial vassals and chaplains and within whose circles the Carolingian script spread. Carolingian script was used, for example, by the vassal Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi and the brother of the vassal Cunipert, the deacon Gisulf[76].

Thanks to these connections, a second aristocratic stratum with a network structure was formed in Florence just as it was in Lucca. This is also shown by the anthroponomastic data, which refers to intra-regional ties. Thus Jeremiah, the son of Raimbaldus, bears the name of the bishop of Lucca Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi. Among the testamentary executors of the Lucchese Teudimundus I of the Figli di Huscit in 858 there is a Florentine, Teudilascius of the late Deodatus[77]. His name echoes that of the imperial chaplain from Lucca, Teudilascius Cunimundinghi, later bishop of Luni. A second generation of imperial vassals and chaplains can be seen within this stratum[78].

In Florence, this second stratum was taking root above all in Mugello, a road and border area with vast fiscal estates. Its most important exponent was probably Rosselmus, who was in charge of recruiting in the territories of Florence, Volterra, and Arezzo for the expedition to Southern Italy promoted

manorum consul who allegedly donated salt pans in Ostia to the churches of S. Maria *domine Rose* and S. Laurentius *in Castello Aureo*, between 867 and 872.

74 MGH, DD Lu II., n. 15, pp. 93-95 (854 VIII 17, *Scalarico*).

75 Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 150-151, 175-176, 187-188; Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 39-40. There is perhaps a connection between the chaplain and the *gastaldus* Roderic, a Frank attested in Lucchese charters.

76 ChLA^2, LXXVII, n. 27, pp. 86-87 (839 VI 14, Lucca), LXXVIII, n. 12, pp. 40-41 (843 VII 13, Lucca). In the *placitum* assemblies, Cunipert appears among the imperial vassals alongside Eriprand I and Godfrey: ChLA^2, LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca).

77 ChLA^2, LXXXI, n. 25, pp. 80-83 (858 XI 5, Lucca).

78 Also attested in Lucca is an imperial chaplain called Teudimundus, who masters a chancery minuscule: ChLA^2, LXXXIII, n. 41, pp. 134-139 (874 XII 17, Lucca).

by Louis II in 866. The imperial vassal Teudimundus I of the Figli di Huscit had a similar role for the territories of Pisa, Lucca, Pistoia, and Luni[79]. I propose his identification with the then deceased father of the founders of the church of S. Maria on the Sieve – as Maria Elena Cortese has pointed out, these were rich and powerful people, undoubtedly belonging to an elevated social stratum[80]. The church was founded by a charter issued in Mugello, in 925, by the brothers Adonaldus and Adolfus of the late Rosselmus (it also mentions their nephew Adonaldus, son of a third brother already deceased, Widalgrimus)[81].

Among Rosselmus' sons, it is Adonaldus who stands out. He is to be identified with his namesake who appears alongside the leading Lucchese parental groups. He was a bystander at a *placitum* in 869, presided over in Lucca by the Marquis Adalbert I and Bishop Gerard I, and he subscribed *livelli* issued by the same bishop in 872, together with Cunimund II Cunimundinghi and Lambert I of the Figli di Rodilando[82]. The palaeographic data provides a truly important contribution: his handwriting is a cursive with strong and significant curial influences, «such as the vertical course, the development of the strokes, the *a* in one stroke in the form of an omega, the very simple and quickly executed *e* similar to a Greek theta, the round *t* traced in one stroke with anti-clockwise movement»[83]. This is a clear indication of his frequentation of the Lateran Palace.

It is not surprising, then, that Adonaldus occupies a central place, together with the Farolfingi, who had long been linked to the papal court, even by family ties, in the delicate dialectic between Lucca and Rome after the death of Louis II. The detente in the relations between Marquis Adalbert I and John VIII, previously very tense, as shown by the Pope's register, is marked by the presence of the Marquis' retinue in the Leonine city. The occasion is the council held in mid-October 879[84].

On 18th October, Winigildus of the late Farolfus II received by *livello* from Bishop Gerard I the *curtis* of *Garbina*, near Certaldo in Valdelsa, pertaining to the church of S. Sylvester of Lucca[85]. The act was written by the notary Peter, never otherwise attested in the Lucchese charters[86]. The notary had to receive a licence from the *superista* Peter, the highest secular official of the

[79] MGH, Capit. II, n. 218, pp. 94-96; < https://capitularia.uni-koeln.de/capit/post840/bk-nr-218/ > [18/10/2023]; Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 229-232; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 13-14, 26.
[80] Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città*, pp. 215-216.
[81] *Le carte della canonica*, n. 9, pp. 25-29 (925 XI, Mugello).
[82] ChLA², LXXXV, n. 21, pp. 69-75 (869 VIII 18, Lucca), LXXXII, n. 46, pp. 152-153 (872 VIII 26, Castelnuovo di Garfagnana), LXXXIII, n. 4, pp. 24-25 (872 XI 1, 5, 13, Lucca).
[83] ChLA², LXXXII, p. 152.
[84] MGH, Epp. VII, nn. 83, 87, 89, 96, 107, 171, 251, pp. 78-79, 82-83, 85-86, 90-91, 99-100, 138-139, 219-220; MGH, Conc. V, n. 11, pp. 151-155 (879 X, Roma); Bougard, *Ansperto e il papato*.
[85] ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 27, pp. 97-99 (879 X 18, Roma, Città Leonina).
[86] Suggestive, but impossible to demonstrate on palaeographic grounds, is the possibility of him being the notary of the same name who wrote for the Marquis Adalbert I the foundation charter of S. Maria of Aulla, in 884; see Tomei, *Spazi politici*.

Lateran palace, since he came from outside and was not Roman, as his writing also reveals[87]. Although the Marquis was absent, the document depicts his entourage. After Winigildus, signed Giselbert, Rodilandus II and Lambert II of the "Figli di Rodilando".

The granting by *livello* from the bishop of the conspicuous estates belonging to the *Reichskirchen* of S. Fredianus and S. Sylvester of Lucca, widespread in almost the entire region, was the mechanism, devised in 877, with which the marquis, through the bishop, rewarded *fideles* and, as a result, succeeded in attracting the aristocrats of Tuscany to himself[88]. The flow of *livelli* addressed the network he intended to coordinate on the regional level, that included both members of the first aristocratic stratum, such as the new generation of the Farolfingi, and the second stratum, such as Adonaldus and the "Figli di Rodilando". And, in fact, Winigildus and Giselbert are two of the four vassals of the marquis attested alongside Adalbert II at a *placitum* in Florence in 897[89].

It was thanks to Adonaldus' influence that two of his namesakes, related in some way, but distinguishable palaeographically, Adonaldus of the late Adonaldus *de finibus Florentie* and Adonaldus of the late Saxiprand *homo florentino* (possibly linked to the brothers Adonaldus and Forteramus of the late Agrafi, who exchanged land on Monte Morello in 868), also profited from this flow of grants[90]. In 877 and 882, they received as *livello* properties belonging to the churches of S. Sylvester, S. Michele in Foro, and S. Pietro Somaldi, another Lucchese *Reichskirche*: respectively, estates in Vecchiano and the most conspicuous entry listed in the so-called *breve de multis pensionibus*, with assets scattered between the city of Lucca and several areas of its diocese; and the *fundamentum* of a *curtis* in Campi Bisenzio[91].

The role played by the Farolfingi remained decisive in the months immediately following the *livello* in the Leonine City. Winigildus' brother, Farolfus III, favoured the realignment between John VIII and Charles the Fat: as counsellor and nephew of John VIII, in April 880 he was sent by the Pope to the imperial court and, in March 881, at a *placitum* in Siena, he appears among the followers of the newly-crowned emperor, on his way back from Rome, with the high-sounding title of *comes domni apostolici*[92]. It is a significant title: it expresses social rank and a position of proximity to an important person, namely the pope, rather than a territorially-rooted office[93].

[87] Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 186-189; Betti, *Papa Giovanni VIII*. Peter is immortalised in John Immonides' *Coena Cypriani*: «Cum togata superista Pietro tractat curia».
[88] Tomei, *Chiese, vassalli, concubine*.
[89] ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze).
[90] ChLA², XCI, n. 32, pp. 146-151 (868 III, Firenze).
[91] ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 15, pp. 59-59 (877 IX 7, Lucca), LXXXV, n. 13, pp. 48-49 (879 XI 1, Lucca), CXVII, n. 18, pp. 108-113 (895 XI 19-897 III 4); Tomei, *Un nuovo polittico*.
[92] MGH, Epp. VII, n. 225, p. 200; ChLA², XC, n. 17, pp. 92-97 (881 III, Siena); < https://saame.it/fonte/placiti-toscani-toscana-17/ > [18/10/2023]; Bougard, *Le royaume*, p. 71.
[93] Mention of counts in the Kingdom as a whole, for the ninth and tenth centuries, would deserve to be taken up in order to assess their actual territorial anchoring; see Bougard, *Laien als Amtsträger*; Bougard, *Le royaume*, pp. 95-96, 273-291.

The subsequent mention of one of the Farolfingi always refers to the line descended from Farolfus II: this is the case of his son Winigildus at the Florentine *placitum* of 897 among the marquis' vassals[94]. Farao II may have left only a daughter, if one accepts her identification with Rottruda of the late Farao who, widowed and veiled, disposed of some of her property in 880 from *Cornio*, nowadays near Prato, in the *fines* of Pistoia[95]. Like the Aldobrandeschi, the Farolfingi were also drawn into the marquis' orbit to the extent that they disappeared completely from the scene at the beginning of the tenth century. They only re-emerged in the Ottonian age[96].

Traces of the sons of Rosselmus were also lost at that time. In Florence, there is a sharper fracture, also onomastic. The name Adonaldus is highly characteristic of the elites in the Florentine area from the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century – see for example the group of founders of S. Bartolomeo in Ripoli[97]. This is a striking fact given the paucity of the documentary basis for these chronologies. However, Adonaldus is no longer part of the onomastic stock of the Florentine aristocracy in the 11th century, as clearly shown by the now more abundant sources analysed by Maria Elena Cortese[98].

In conclusion, the career of the Farolfingi and the case of Florence confirmed the general outlines of the model already sketched out starting with the Aldobrandeschi and the *milites elegantes* of Lucca. The genesis of the aristocratic structures in Tuscany took place with people who managed to consolidate a position of eminence for themselves and their descendants thanks to their relationship with the Court in the generation between the 820s and 840s, due to the action of Lothar I in the Kingdom. In the next generation, between the 840s and 860s, a second stratum emerged, that previously had a mediated and indirect relationship with the central pivot in the public sphere. The latter had a more fragile, less crystallised position, and acted in a strongly networked pattern. Only the most powerful of the first stratum managed to attain comital rank: their focus of action was fixed far from Lucca, in Maremma and Roman *Tuscia*. Both the former and the latter formed the network coordinated by the marquis on a regional scale after the death of Louis II.

Overall, there was a great cycle of social differentiation in the political space of the Kingdom. It was gradually powered by the court's redistributive process under Lothar I and Louis II, within the constellation of power

[94] ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 45, pp. 137-141 (897 III 4, Firenze). There is no certainty as to his identity with a Winigildus who appears in the letters of Pope Stephen V. He had started a relationship with his sister-in-law Gisaltruda, widow of his brother Peter, who had left the *sacrum velamen* for him. Therefore, the couple was excommunicated: MGH, Epp. VII, n. 21, pp. 344-345.
[95] ChLA², XCI, n. 33, pp. 152-155 (880 VII 9, Borgo al Cornio); Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*, pp. 195-196.
[96] Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 71-91; Tomei, *Sul castello di Colonna*, pp. 58-61.
[97] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Diplomatico*, Vallombrosa, S. Maria d'Acquabella, 790 luglio 14; < https://www.archiviodigitale.icar.beniculturali.it/it/185/ricerca/detail/145270 > [18/10/2023].
[98] Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città*.

in which the kinship of the Supponids occupied a central place[99]. This was the support base for imperial power when it turned its gaze to Southern Italy. There are strong analogies with the tenth century. After a structural crisis generated by the action of King Hugh of Arles, a second cycle of stability and gradual growth began, between the Easter coup of 945 and the civil war between Henry and Arduin, in which the core of the network was occupied by the kinship of the Obertenghi[100]. In this framework, on which Otto I and Otto II relied for their action in Southern Italy, the Aldobrandeschi and Farolfingi also found a place, always in connection with Lucca.

There are, however, divergences. I have studied here individuals and groups that, although they have an urban-centric action, initially enjoy greater visibility out of the cities, especially in the fiscal areas such as Mugello, Montepulciano, and Montalcino. Their action was structurally polycentric: in addition to the neighbouring cities, they were attracted by the court of Lucca. Besides, they show a more evident gravitational pull towards other foci of power, above all Rome. The image offered by palaeographic data is emblematic: to the Carolingian script used by Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi from 839, a forerunner on the graphic scene in Lucca, we see echoes in the curial contamination in Adonaldus' writing a generation later[101]. The graphic identity of the former refers to his joining the circle of imperial vassals, while that of the latter refers to his being an interlocutor between Lucca and Rome. It has been seen how Farolfus III and Winigildus, Roderic and Adonaldus increased their *honores* thanks to their role as a link with the papal court, in a connective tissue especially woven at the time of Pope Leo IV, with huge investments that led to the foundation of two new *civitates*: the Leonine City and Leopolis. In this interplay, at least until the 870s, they had considerable margins of autonomy and mobility, greater than those of the aristocrats of Lucca, before being all subjected to the coordination of the marquis.

[99] Bougard, *Les Supponides*.
[100] Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo*.
[101] Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio*.

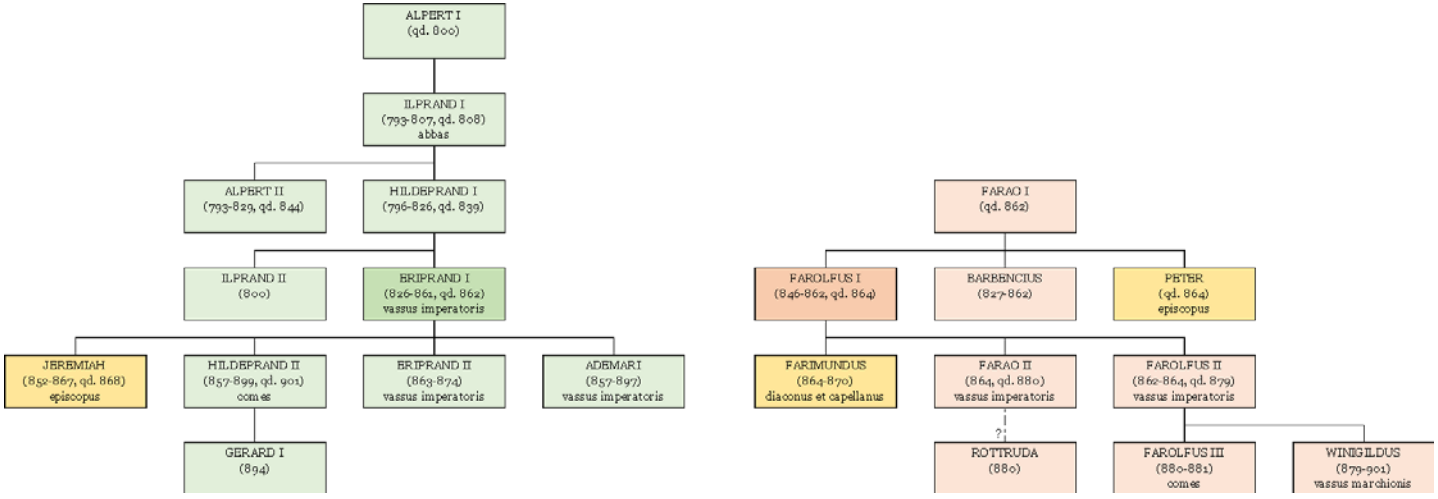

Figure 1. The first generations of the parental groups called Aldobrandeschi (in green) and Farolfingi (in orange). In a brighter shade the individuals who distinguished themselves through their connection with Lothar I. In yellow the court clerics.

Works cited

M. Al Kalak, *Leodoino vescovo. Cultura e diritto a Modena nel secolo IX*, in «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia patria delle antiche Province modenesi», 27 (2005), pp. 3-47.

G. Albertoni, *L'elefante di Carlo Magno. Il desiderio di un imperatore*, Bologna 2020.

S. Allegria, *Manu mea subscripsi. Considerazioni sulla cultura scritta ad Arezzo tra IX e inizio XI secolo*, in «Scripta», 3 (2010), pp. 9-27.

G. Andenna, *Notingo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 78, Roma 2013, pp. 778-781.

M. Betti, *Papa Giovanni VIII e l'aristocrazia romana. La fuga dei "Tarquini", aprile 876*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020 (Haut Moyen Âge, 40), pp. 165-174.

M. Betti, *The two versions of the life of Pope Sergius II in the Liber pontificalis. Anti-Frankish feeling in Rome after Louis II's expedition of 844*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 181-198.

Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019 (Seminari del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo, 9).

F. Bougard, *Ansperto e il papato: una relazione difficile*, in *Ansperto da Biassono*, ed. M. Basile Weatherhill, M. Beretta, M.R. Tessera, Milano 2018, pp. 21-35.

F. Bougard, *La cour et le gouvernement de Louis II, 840-875*, in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne. Du début du IX^e siècle aux environs de 920*, ed. R. Le Jan, Villeneuve d'Ascq 1998 (Histoire et littérature du Septentrion, 17), pp. 249-267.

F. Bougard, *Laien als Amtsträger: über die Grafen des regnum Italiae*, in *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – Europäische Perspektiven*, ed. W.Pohl, V. Wieser, Wien 2009 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 16), pp. 201-216.

F. Bougard, *Le royaume d'Italie de Louis II à Otton I^er (840-968). Histoire politique*, Leipzig 2022 (Italia Regia, 5).

F. Bougard, *Les Supponides: échec à la reine*, in *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge. Crises et renouvellements*, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006 (Haut Moyen Âge, 1), pp. 381-402.

F. Bougard, *Tesori e mobilia italiani nell'alto medioevo*, in *Tesori: forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V-XI)*, ed. S. Gelichi, C. La Rocca, Roma 2003 (Altomedioevo, 3), pp. 69-122.

F. Bougard, A vetustissimis thomis. *Le rouleau 3 d'Arezzo, du primicer Gérard au tribun Zenobius*, in *Secoli XI e XII: l'invenzione della memoria*, Montepulciano 2006, pp. 113-150.

P. Cammarosano, *La famiglia dei Berardenghi. Contributo alla storia della società senese nei secoli XI-XIII*, Spoleto 1974 (Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali, 6).

Carte dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa, Fondo arcivescovile, vol. 1, *(720-1100)*, ed. A. Ghignoli, Pisa 2006.

Carte della Badia di Settimo e della Badia di Buonsollazzo nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze (998-1200), ed. A. Ghignoli, A.R. Ferrucci, Firenze 2004.

Le carte della canonica della cattedrale di Firenze (723-1149), ed. R. Piattoli, Roma 1938.

Il cartulario della Berardenga, ed. E. Casanova, in «Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria», 21 (1914).

A. Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali a Lucca in età carolingia*, in *Il patrimonio documentario della chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca*, ed. S. Pagano, P. Piatti, Firenze 2010 (Toscana sacra, 2), pp. 211-284.

Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus. Urkundenbuch der Abtei S. Salvatore am Montamiata. Von den Anfängen bis zum Regierungsantritt Papst Innozenz III. (736–1198), vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Nationalkönigsherrschaft (736-951)*, ed. W. Kurze, Tübingen 1974.

S.M. Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura nella Tuscia dei secoli IX-XI*, in «Scrittura e civiltà», 18 (1994), pp. 23-51.

S.M. Collavini, «Honorabilis domus et spetiosissimus comitatus». *Gli Aldobrandeschi da "conti" a "principi territoriali" (secoli IX-XIII)*, Pisa 1998 (Studi medievali, 6).

S.M. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle élites laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e au XI^e siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge, 5), pp. 319-340.

M.E. Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana. Sette secoli (VI-XII)*, Spoleto 2017 (Istituzioni e società, 23).

M.E. Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città. L'aristocrazia del territorio fiorentino tra X e XII secolo*, Firenze 2007 (Biblioteca Storica Toscana, 53).

S. Del Lungo, *Presenze abbaziali nell'alto Lazio. San Salvatore al Monte Amiata e le sue relazioni con l'abbazia di Farfa (secoli VIII-XII)*, Roma 2001 (Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria, 42).
J.-P. Delumeau, *Arezzo. Espace et sociétés, 715-1230. Recherches sur Arezzo et son contado du VIII^e au début du XIII^e siècle*, Rome 1996 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 219).
J.-P. Devroey, *Puissants et misérables. Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VI^e-IX^e siècles)*, Bruxelles 2006.
E. Doublier, *Fälschungen, Verunechtungen und Interpolationen in der Chartularchronik des Reichsklosters Casauria (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 5411)*, in «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», 76 (2020), pp. 467-531.
L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales. Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IX^e au XII^e siècle*, Rome 1998 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 300).
S. Gasparri, *I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo*, in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, C. La Rocca, R. Le Jan, Rome 2005 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 351), pp. 97-114.
T. Gasparrini Leporace, *Cronologia dei Duchi di Spoleto (569-1230)*, in «Bollettino per l'Umbria», 35 (1938), pp. 5-68.
S. Gavinelli, *Il vescovo Giuseppe di Ivrea nel circuito culturale carolingio*, in *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contributo italiano all'Europa carolingia*, ed. P. Chiesa, Udine 2003 (Libri e biblioteche, 12), pp. 167-196.
A. Ghignoli, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e documentazione nei secoli VIII-XI. Appunti per una prospettiva*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 162 (2004), pp. 619-666.
M.W. Heil, *Bishop Leodoin of Modena and the Legal Culture of Late-Ninth Century Italy*, in «Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung», 134 (2017), pp. 1-69.
E. Hlawitschka, *Die Widonen im Dukat von Spoleto*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 63 (1983), pp. 20-92.
W. Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.-11. Jahrhundert)*, Hannover 2003 (MGH, Schriften, 52).
D. Internullo, *«Decus Urbis». Un'altra prospettiva sui «Mirabilia» di Roma e le origini del decoro urbano (secoli XII-XV)*, in «Quaderni Storici», 163 (2022), pp. 159-183.
H. Keller, *La marca di Tuscia fino all'anno mille*, in *Lucca e la Tuscia nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1973, pp. 117-140.
C. La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona. Il passato carolingio nella costruzione della memoria urbana*, Roma 1995.
T. Lazzari, *Una santa, una badessa e una principessa: note di lettura sul capitello di santa Giulia nel Museo di Brescia*, in *Il monachesimo femminile in Italia nei secoli VIII-XI: famiglia, potere, memoria*, ed. V. West-Harling, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 20 (2019), 1, pp. 421-446.
Liber instrumentorum seu Chronicorum monasterii Casauriensis seu Chronicon Casauriense, ed. A. Pratesi, P. Cherubini, Roma 2017-2018.
U. Ludwig, *Die Anlage des Liber Vitae*, in *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, Hannover 2000 (MGH, Libri mem. N. S., 4), pp. 56-88.
D. Manacorda, *Siena e Roma nell'alto Medioevo: qualche lume sui secoli bui*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 119 (2007), pp. 5-24.
E. Manarini, *«Per Padum fluvium termino currente usque [...] Civitatem Novam atque Mutinam». Consolidation and affirmation of the Church of Modena and its bishops in 9th-century Carolingian Italy*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 131-155.
E. Manarini, *I due volti del potere. Una parentela atipica di ufficiali e signori nel regno italico*, Milano 2016 (Studi storici, 12).
F. Marazzi, *Le "città nuove" pontificie e l'insediamento laziale nel IX secolo*, in *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, ed. R. Francovich, G. Noyé, Firenze 1994 (Biblioteca di Archeologia Medievale, 11), pp. 251-277.
M. Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori. San Salvatore al Monte Amiata tra Impero e Papato (secoli VIII-XIII)*, Firenze 2014 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 18)
H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, München 1995 (MGH, Hilfsmittel, 15).

S. Nessi, *La diocesi di Spoleto tra tardoantico e medioevo*, in *Umbria cristiana. Dalla diffusione del culto al culto dei santi (secc. IV-X)*, Spoleto 2001, pp. 833-882.
A. Pöschl, *Der "vocatus episcopus" der Karolingerzeit*, in «Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht», 97 (1917), pp. 3-43.
L. Provero, *Gli spazi politici dell'aristocrazia nella Lombardia carolingia e postcarolingia (secoli IX-X)*, in *Un ponte tra il Mediterraneo e il Nord Europa: la Lombardia nel primo millennio*, ed. G. Albini, L. Mecella, Milano 2021, pp. 233-247.
R. Rappmann, *Das Totengedenken der Abtei: Necrologien und kommemorierte Personen*, in *Die Reichenauer Mönchsgemeinschaft und ihr Totengedenken im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. R. Rappmann, A. Zettler, Sigmaringen 1998 (Archäologie und Geschichte, 5), pp. 279-524.
Il regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino, vol. 2, ed. I. Giorgi, U. Balzani, Roma 1879.
S. Roebert, *Herrscherurkunden des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts für das Kloster San Salvatore al Monte Amiata: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, in *Europäische Herrscher und die Toskana im Spiegel der urkundlichen Überlieferung (800-1100)*, ed. A. Ghignoli, W. Huschner, M.U. Jaros, Leipzig 2013 (Italia Regia, 1), pp. 37-54.
M. Schäpers, *Lothar I. (795-855) und das Frankenreich*, Wien 2018 (Rheinisches Archiv, 159).
F. Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung in Toscana von der Gründung des Langobardenreiches bis zum Ausgang der Staufer (528-1268)*, Rom 1914 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 11).
H. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstruktur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana*, Tübingen 1972 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 41).
A. Spicciani, *I Farolfingi: una famiglia comitale a Chiusi e a Orvieto (secoli XI-XIII)*, in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo*, Roma 1988 (Nuovi studi storici, 1), pp. 229-295.
F.R. Stasolla, *Leopoli-Cencelle: il quartiere sud-orientale*, Spoleto 2012.
L. Tabarrini, *Détecter un "grand domaine" monastique. L'organisation du travail agricole dans les propriétés de Saint-Sauveur de Monte Amiata (VIII^{e}-X^{e} siècle)*, in «Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire», 95 (2018), pp. 663-693.
P. Tomei, *Chiese, vassalli, concubine. Su un inedito placito lucchese dell'anno 900*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 126 (2014), pp. 537-556.
P. Tomei, Milites elegantes. *Le strutture aristocratiche nel territorio lucchese (800-1100 c.)*, Firenze 2019 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 34).
P. Tomei, *Un nuovo "polittico" lucchese del IX secolo: il* breve de multis pensionibus, in «Studi Medievali», 53 (2012), pp. 567-602.
P. Tomei, *Spazi politici e strutture parentali nella galassia carolingia. Gli Adalberti fra Baviera, Toscana e Provenza*, in «Archivio storico italiano», 181 (2023), pp. 685-728.
P. Tomei, *Sul castello di Colonna (e di un soggiorno a Mandra Camellaria). Nuovi elementi sulla Roma a cavaliere del Mille dall'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca*, in «*Un discepolo innamorato*». *Studi offerti a don Marcello Brunini direttore dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca*, ed. V. Cappellini, T.M. Rossi, G.E. Unfer Verre, Lucca 2021, pp. 49-62.
P. Tomei, *Writing, textuality, politics in the Lucca of Bishops Berengar and Ambrose (837-852)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 157-180.
G. Vignodelli, *Il filo a piombo. Il* Perpendiculum *di Attone di Vercelli e la storia politica del regno italico*, Spoleto 2011 (Istituzioni e società, 16).
C. Wickham, *Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy, 650-1150*, in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies, P. Fouracre, Cambridge 2010, pp. 193-216.
C. Wickham, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150*, Oxford 2017.
H. Zielinski, *Ein unbeachteter Italienzug Kaiser Lothars I. im Jahre 847*, in «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 70 (1990), pp. 1-22.

Paolo Tomei
University of Pisa (Italy)
paolo.tomei1@unipi.it
0000-0002-3358-8336

Aiming at the aristocracy: social mobility in Lucca at the time of Lothar I

by Manuel Fauliri

Not only was the city of Lucca one of the main political centres of the *regnum Italiae*, it is also, thanks to its rich heritage of *chartae* preserved in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, one of the best documented geographical areas of the early Middle Ages. It is thus the best place in the kingdom to observe the dynamics both of a city's society and of the rural areas within its ambit, and of its institutions, allowing us to highlight in particular the trajectories of the city elite, whether focusing on individuals or on the family groups to which they belonged. In this article I will focus on the so-called "diocesan elite", investigating three family groups who emerge from the Lucchese records and whose activities can be traced over a number of generations. I will seek to reveal both the similarities and the differences between these groups, and the strategies they appeared to use in building networks of relations with other families and with the various actors operating in the same urban and rural contexts, as they strove – in a constant process of negotiation – to attain, maintain and pass on to future generations a social position which would allow them to present themselves as firmly integrated within the elite.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Carolingian Italy; Lucca; elite; kinship.

Manuel Fauliri, University of Trento, Italy, manuel.fauliri@unitn.it, 0000-0003-4669-3239

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Manuel Fauliri, *Aiming at the aristocracy: social mobility in Lucca at the time of Lothar I*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.13, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 213-240, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

ChLA, XXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVI, Italy XVII, Lucca, publ. G. Nicolaj, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.

ChLA, XXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVII, Italy XVIII, Lucca, publ. P. Supino Martini, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.

ChLA, XXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVIII, Italy XIX, Lucca, publ. M. Palma, F. Bianchi, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.

ChLA, XXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXIX, Italy XX, Lucca, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.

ChLA, XL = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XL, Italy XXI, Lucca, publ. M. Palma, F. Bianchi, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.

ChLA², LXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXII, Italy XLIV, Lucca 1, publ. C. Gattagrisi, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.

ChLA², LXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIII, Italy XLV, Lucca 2, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.

ChLA², LXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIV, Italy XLVI, Lucca 3, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2004.

ChLA², LXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXV, Italy XLVII, Lucca 4, publ. F. Magistrale, P. Cordasco, C. Drago, Dietikon-Zürich 2005.

ChLA², LXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVI, Italy XLVIII, Lucca 5, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, Dietikon-Zürich 2007.

ChLA², LXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVII, Italy XLIX, Lucca 6, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.

ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.

ChLA², LXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIX, Italy LI, Lucca 8, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.

ChLA², LXXX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXX, Italy LII, Lucca 9, publ. C. Gattagrisi, F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.

ChLA², LXXXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXI, Italy LIII, Lucca 10, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.

ChLA², LXXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXII, Italy LIV, Lucca 11, publ. C. Gattagrisi, P. Cordasco, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.

ChLA², LXXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIII, Italy LV, Lucca 12, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.

ChLA², LXXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIV, Italy LVI, Lucca 13, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.

ChLA², LXXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXV, Italy LVII, Lucca 15, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.

ChLA², LXXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd

series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVI, Italy LVIII, Lucca 15, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
ChLA², LXXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVII, Italy LIX, Lucca 16, publ, Dietikon-Zürich 2016.
MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).
Placiti I = *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, ed. C. Manaresi, Roma 1955 (FSI, 92).

1. *Introduction*

Among the various regional contexts that offer us an opportunity to observe in some detail the paths followed by certain family groups which, for various reasons, can be considered part of the elite, Lucca – with its rich collection of *chartae* held in the Archivio Storico Diocesano – undoubtedly stands out. Early medieval Tuscany, indeed, is widely recognised as one of the best documented geographical areas of its time, and many scholars have studied the area's extant charters, investigating various aspects of its society, including the activities of the elites[1]. And the particular case of Lucca, thanks to the considerable volume of its documents, provides the ideal setting in which to trace, with far greater continuity than in any of the other regions in the Italian kingdom, the activities of various actors at all levels of society, including the aristocracy. We thus find that we have an opportunity to investigate not only the highest levels of the elite but also the lower ranks of the fourfold division proposed by Simone Collavini; a system which he believes to have become widespread between 775 and 850[2]. In the present work I thus refer to this division in investigating some of the examples offered by the extant charters, where one of these four levels is particularly well represented. While acknowledging, as Collavini himself points out, its artificiality and instrumentality[3], this grouping of the elites active in the *regnum* at that time is unquestionably useful. This said, we also have to remember that this description of the central Italian elites is simply a snapshot of the organisation of the dominant groups at one particular moment, inevitably showing its limitations when one endeavours to describe the evolution of particular individuals or families. Both family groups and individuals can move – up and/or down – from one level to another over time. Nonetheless, this fourfold model

[1] Of the many studies, see in particular: Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*; Wickham, *The mountains and the city*; Collavini, «Honorabilis domus»; Collavini, *Spazi politici*; Stoffella, Lociservatores; Collavini, *Per una categorizzazione delle* élites; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*; Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio; Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana*; Tomei, Milites elegantes. For an overview of the Carolingian elite see Costambeys, Innes, MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, pp. 271-323; Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 213-264; Predastsch, *Migration*.
[2] Collavini proposes classifying the elites in *Reichsadel*, regional elite, diocesan elite, and local elite (see Collavini, *Spazi politici*, p. 328).
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 322.

enables us first to establish the commonalities at each level of the elite and then to examine the similarities and differences between the various actors who emerge from the sources.

I will not discuss the so-called *Reichsadel* here, the highest rank of the aristocracy whose members held the most eminent positions across the empire, nor the slightly lower level, the origins of which were older and regional, and whose members were interconnected with the *Reichsadel* through kinship and client relationships. Instead, I will focus on that third category of the elite known as the "diocesan elite", characterised by – according to Collavini's definition – on the one hand the relatively limited scope of their estates, not extending beyond the area of one diocesan/comital, a dwelling in the city, no more than occasional attainment of high (non-hereditary) public office, and, on the other hand, by the more wide-scale and long-term holding of mid-level appointments both ecclesiastic and lay; their absolute, although informal, dominance of urban societies through their activity as *adstantes* at judicial hearings, as estimators for exchanges of property and as witnesses to the wills of prominent figures[4].

My contribution examines three family groups – whom I have decided to call the Sons of Dundulus, the Sons of Guntulus and the Sons of Iltifridus, taking the names of the first member of each line whose activities are mentioned directly in the sources – which have to date received less attention in the various studies dedicated to this research area than other members of the so-called diocesan elite[5]. They first appear in the Lucchese charters of the first half of the ninth century, most prominently during the reign of Lothar I (822-855)[6].

I do not intend to embark upon a prosopographical analysis that includes all the members of the three chosen family groups[7]. Instead, I will examine some important aspects which relate to those figures who were most prominent in the sources, and mentioned over longer periods of time, in certain cases also after the time of Lothar. This provides insights into the ways in which established members of the diocesan elite operated – in a process of

[4] *Ibidem*, pp. 321-322.
[5] On family and kinship in Early Middle Ages see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*; Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 83-129.
[6] The charters from the period in question, between 814 and 855 – this is the timeframe examined by the *Ruling in hard times* project – are published in the eight volumes from LXXIV to LXXXI of the *Chartae latinae antiquiores* (ChLA², LXXIV-LXXXI), but in order fully to analyse both the origins and the subsequent development of these groups over the course of the second half of the ninth century, it has been necessary to delve into the earlier records too, those dated between the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, and into the subsequent volumes, at least until the beginning of the tenth century. Therefore, volumes XXXVI to XL; volumes LXXII-LXXIII and the volumes from LXXXII to LXXXVII (ChLA, XXXVI-XL; ChLA², LXXII-LXXIII; ChLA², LXXXII-LXXXVII) are also referred to.
[7] For a complete list of the attestations of the various members of these family groups, accompanied by my proposed reconstruction of the family trees for each group, see Appendix and Figg. 1-3.

constant negotiation and through the construction of a network of relations with other groups or individuals – to attain, maintain and pass on to future generations a social position which permitted them to present themselves as an integral part of the elite.

2. *The Sons of Dundulus*

Among the most frequently mentioned family groups, that which we are going to call the Sons of Dundulus – after, as noted previously, the first member of the family referred to – stands out. Dundulus first appears in a will dated December 776[8], where he appends his *signum manus* acting as a witness, and identifying himself as the son of the deceased Wandulus; three years later his son Aloitus signs a deed of exchange between two clerics[9]. Then, in the early years of the ninth century, the group starts to appear consistently in the charters. Since the perspective that these documents represent is that of the bishopric[10], we witness how members of this family gradually play increasingly active roles in the life of the city that revolves around the bishopric: they appear as witnesses in a remarkable number of documents, often together with members of other emerging groups who belong to the same social rank. In 803, another of Dundulus' sons, the *vassus domni regis* Arochis, first appears[11]. This representative of Carolingian power – thoroughly researched by Andrea Castagnetti[12] – was to go on to become one of Charlemagne's close circle of *fideles*.

The well-known *placitum* at which the priest Alpulus, accused by the bishop of Pisa of abducting a nun, stood trial – a trial which had already been running for ten years – was the context within which Arochis first emerges, as one of the *adstantes*[13]. It is not easy to identify all of Arochis' attestations because of his non-autograph subscription: sometimes he referred to himself as *vassus*, sometimes simply as the son of the deceased Dundulus. After some attestations in which he identifies himself generically as *vassus domni regis*, we find Arochis, in a private deed dated November 813, specifying that he is a *vassus domni Caroli Magni imperatoris* as well as being *filio bone memorie Dunduli*[14]. As Castagnetti has pointed out, it is significant that we can prove, thanks to this

[8] ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1058, pp. 48-49 (776 XII, Monaciatico).
[9] ChLA, XXXVII, n. 1071, pp. 13-15 (779 XII, Lucca).
[10] On the overwhelming dominance of documents directly establishing the interests of the Church and the filtering and reshaping processes operated by church and monastic archives in response to their own needs during the Carolingian age, see for example Innes, *Archives, documents and landowners*.
[11] Arochis is attested in sixteen *chartae* between 803 and 832 (see Appendix).
[12] Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 226-228; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, pp. 99-106.
[13] ChLA², LXXII, n. 24, pp. 83-89 (803 VII, the cathedral in Lucca). Arochis figures on this occasion, among the *adstantes*, together with a second vassal, called Vuilipertus, and is the only layman who signs, thus ensuring the fulfilment of the royal *iussio* (see Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, p. 100). On the priest Alpulus see Andreolli, *Uomini nel Medioevo*, pp. 39-52.
[14] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 3, pp. 21-24 (813 XI 8, Lucca).

subscription, that after the death of King Pippin of Italy, Arochis entered into a relation of direct vassalage with Charlemagne, which continued even after Bernard's arrival in the *regnum*[15]. As has already been indicated, however, Arochis did not always include mention of his vassalage when subscribing charters and, in the numerous documents in which his name appears, he more frequently refers to himself in relation to his dead father[16].

We know that Dundulus had died by 803[17], because from then on his death was always attested by his descendants when they were signing documents, apart from in one particular case, which, as far as I can see, has not been discussed in other studies. In April 804, we find an Arochis, son of a monk named Dundulus, among the witnesses to a donation made to the cathedral in Lucca by the priest Vualprandus, rector of the church of San Michele Arcangelo in Colognora Valleriana (*Culonia*)[18]. This could mean that another member of the group was also called Dundulus, or simply that the priest, Rachiprandus, who drew up the document, had forgotten to specify that our Dundulus was dead. But the nature of the deed, accompanying as it does the donation of the church in which Vualprandus had been ordained, and of which he had been appointed rector by his aunt, the *ancilla Dei* Rapperga, combined with the fact that everyone who signed it was a member of the clergy except the layman Arochis, leads me to suppose that Arochis had here chosen to highlight that which legitimised his presence at that meeting: the fact that his father had, at some point, become a monk. It is indeed plausible that, in his last years, Dundulus had chosen to retreat into monastic life, a detail which his son thought opportune to highlight only in this particular case, since it enabled him to extend his own and his family's networks, connecting them with that of the priest who had made the donation. The identification of Arochis, son of the monk Dundulus, with King Pippin's vassal is also confirmed by the fact that in the document by which the priest Vualprandus was ordained rector of the church of San Michele by the bishop, drawn up the day after the donation, he subscribes as *vassus domni regis*[19]. Along with the vassal Arochis, and Aloitus, two other brothers emerge as sons of the deceased Dundulus: Aloni, active between 807 and 839 – and still attested as alive in 849 – who wrote his autograph subscription on[20], and Ghisus, who appended his *signum*

[15] Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 226-227; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, pp. 102-103.
[16] In fact Arochis, after the death of Charlemagne, no longer appears with the title of vassal which means that he did not become a vassal of Bernard, or of Louis the Pious, or of the latter's son, Lothar I (see Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, p. 103).
[17] ChLA², LXXII, n. 25, pp. 90-91 (803 VIII, Lucca).
[18] ChLA², LXXII, n. 30, pp. 102-103 (804 IV 29, Lucca).
[19] ChLA², LXXII, n. 31, pp. 104-105 (804 IV 30, Lucca). On this occasion Arochis is joined by another layman, Gherimundus son of the deceased Fratellus.
[20] Aloni is attested on nineteen occasions between 807 and 849 (see Appendix). On Aloni see Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio, pp. 108-113. On the literacy of the laity in the Carolingian age see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, pp. 211-270; Sennis, *Documentary practices*; on the documentary record of eighth and ninth century Italy see also Costambeys, *The laity, the clergy, the scribes*.

manus, to some documents dated between 816 and 819 and who was already dead in 823[21].

One conspicuous fact is that, during the first decades of the ninth century, members of this family group never appear as authors of any of the extant charters, although we do see them acting as members of the Lucchese elite. They seem, in other words, to have been prominent and successful citizens who, nevertheless, limited themselves to appending their *signum manus*, or in the case of Aloni their autograph subscription, to private charters, while also sometimes appearing as *adstantes* at trials. And then, the fact that one of them became a vassal, first of the king of Italy and then directly of Charlemagne's, clearly ranks them above the other actors who appear occasionally in the sources. However, it is the three sons of Ghisus, and thus members of the fourth generation of the family, who begin to emerge as protagonists in Lucchese charters in the first half of the ninth century, in some cases actually as the authors. The first is Iohannes, who, in April 815, signed a deed of sale between the archdeacon Austrifonsus/Ostrifusus and the nun Iltruda[22]; the latter belonged to the family whom I have called the "Sons of Guntulus", the second family group that I investigate here. Three years later we become aware of a second brother, Andrea, active between 818 and 844, and, lastly, Aroghisus, who appears on a number of occasions between the end of the 830s and 855. Looking at the last years of the period of time upon which this work focuses (mid-840s to mid-850s), we see that other members of the same family group are still active as charter subscribers. Two such figures are, very probably, the sons of Andrea of the deceased Ghisus: Adelpertus/Adalpertus and Adelghisus/Adalchisus (called Appo). Two other figures, Angalpertus and Aroghisus, also appear, and, although their father's name is not given, may well be Andrea's nephews[23].

As noted earlier, the members of this family group tend to appear, in the extant documents, only as subscribers, or occasionally *adstantes* during *placita*[24]; it is rare to find them in the role of authors of charters. The first

[21] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 110-112 (818 III 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca). Ghisus is first attested as already deceased in ChLA², LXXV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (823 VII 11, Lucca).

[22] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca). Iohannes is attested on two further occasions (ChLA², LXXVI, n. 19, pp. 73-75 [829 XII 17, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 [839 I 28 - 840 I 27, Lucca]).

[23] For a complete list of these agents' attestations, see Appendix. Given Aroghisus' name, we can perhaps hypothesise that he and his brother Angalpertus were the sons of Aroghisus, son of the deceased Ghisus.

[24] The brothers Adalpertus and Adelghisus (known as Appo) appear, for instance, on the occasion of a *placitum* held in June 847 at the court of Duke Adalbert I (on the location of the ducal court, see Belli Barsali, *La topografia di Lucca*, pp. 509-510; Tomei, *The Power*) to resolve a dispute that had arisen between two brothers, Draco and Vualpertus (substituted in the course of the hearing by Fraimannus), and the baptismal church of Santa Giulia in Controne, represented by the advocate Andrea (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]). Adalpertus and Appo, who had appeared at the first sitting as *adstantes*, intervened more actively during the fourth and last sitting, together with the *scabinus* Gherimundus, vouching for the validity of the

such instance, in March 840, concerns a *livellario ordine* grant of a house in Guamo and its appurtenances by Bishop Berengar of Lucca to Aroghisus of the deceased Ghisus[25]. Among the few other cases in which we find the Sons of Dundulus as the protagonists in documents preserved in the bishopric's archive is a donation dated January 844, when Aloni, son of the deceased Dundulus, offered *pro anima* to the cathedral a piece of land *in locho Macritula*. The gift adjoined land owned by four different subjects: his great-nephew Angalpertus, Count Hagano, the city church of Sant'Anastasio and, lastly, the bishopric itself[26]. And so we see that the identities of Aloni's neighbours – the local count and the bishop, among others – also indicate that he undoubtedly enjoyed a position of some importance in the city. Among the autograph subscribers, the imperial vassal Eriprandus, son of the deceased Hildiprandus, is particularly noteworthy[27]: Aloni, it turns out, had a direct relationship with the prominent family of the Aldobrandeschi, not only with Eriprandus, but also with his uncle, the cleric Alpertus II[28]. These are relationships based not just on co-participation in the drafting of various documents, but also on their presence as witnesses to three transactions drawn up by the cleric Alpertus and by Eriprandus, as well as on the fact that their land adjoined. This connection appears to have extended to other members of the family group since, among the subscribers, we find the brothers Adelghisus and Adalpertus, sons of the deceased Andrea and therefore grand-nephews of Aloni. These are the grounds upon which Castagnetti has hypothesised a relationship of patronage between Aloni and the Aldobrandeschi, a hypothesis which appears to be supported by the subscription of Eriprandus in the charter testifying to the *pro anima* donation made by Aloni[29]. But his relationship with the bishop is also attested on various occasions; Aloni appears among the witnesses to the *inquisitio* in 838 for rights over the church of San Frediano[30]; and, finally, he is mentioned in the donation made by the priest Petrus, son of the deceased

testimony of someone called Vuito which had been challenged by Fraimannus who maintained that his property did not exceed the value of one hundred and fifty *solidi*. The two brothers, called as persons with knowledge of the facts, are thus shown to be well integrated within Lucchese society and in a position to vouch for others during a public hearing. Later we find them again, with their cousins, the brothers Aroghisus and Angalpertus, as members of the judicial council in August 848 (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 35, pp. 116-121 [848 VIII 7, Lucca]).

[25] ChLA², LXXVII, n. 36, pp. 112-113 (840 III 10, Lucca). Guamo is located south of Lucca, in the hamlet of Capannori (see Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, I, p. 623).

[26] ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca): «terra mea illa quam abere visu sum in lochi Macritula, prope casa illa ubi quondam Baronciulo residdet, pertinens ecclesie Sancti Anestasii, qui uno caput tenet in via publica, alio caput es tenente in terra qui fuit Angilperti nepoti mei, et aliquantulo in terra Aghinoni chomiti, lato uno in terra Sancti Anestasii et alio lato in terra suprascripte ecclesie Sancti Martini».

[27] On Eriprandus see Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 38-51; Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 229-241.

[28] On the cleric Alpertus II see Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 27-31, 34-38, 62-68.

[29] See Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio, p. 112. For an analysis of the subscriptions of Eriprandus, in Carolingian minuscule, see *ibidem*, pp. 180-183; Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura*, p. 34.

[30] ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV, Lucca); see Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio.

Paldus, as the buyer of the donated land[31]. The document was, not coincidentally, subscribed by members of Aloni's family group: the brothers Adelghisus and Adalpertus, sons of the deceased Andrea.

These are the only times within the period under investigation where we see the (direct or indirect) involvement – and not simply as subscribers or *adstantes* at *placita* – of members of the family group. This said, a foray into subsequent documents, up to the year 900, allows us to see how the family continued to be very much part of Lucchese society in the second half of the century. Some years after Angalpertus' last appearance, as a subscriber on a *livellum* drawn up by Bishop Jeremiah[32], we find the *signum manus* of an Aloni, son of the deceased Angalpertus, on another *livellum* charter written in October 873[33], and there are traces of Aloni in the records up until 899[34]; he appears, for instance, as a *missus* for both Duke Adalbert and Bishop Jeremiah[35].

Finally, Aloni is one of the twenty-seven beneficiaries listed in the *Breve de feora*[36], drawn up for the *placitum* which took place in Florence on 4th

[31] ChLA², LXXIX, n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca). As Castagnetti has pointed out, from 854 onwards (ChLA², LXXX, n. 38, pp. 126-127 [854 VII 14, Lucca]) another actor called Aloni is attested; this Aloni, however, can be distinguished from Aloni of the deceased Dundulus by the form of his autograph subscription (see Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio, p. 112 note 419).

[32] ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca).

[33] ChLA², LXXXIII, n. 20, pp. 70-73 (873 X 21, Lucca).

[34] On the subsequent attestations of Aloni, son of the deceased Angalpertus, see Appendix. In an exchange in which Aloni acts as *missus* of the count, his brother Fraimundus, also named as a *missus*, appears for the first and only time (ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 [886 VII 11, Lucca]). The name of this agent refers to the onomastic stock of the family called by Paolo Tomei Sons of Huscit (Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 223-357); this fact could be interpreted as a clue to a possible marriage between a woman from that family and Angalpertus, father of Aloni and Fraimundus.

[35] See, respectively, ChLA², LXXXV, 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 42-45 (890 V 27, Lucca).

[36] ChLA², CXVII, n. 17, pp. 94-107 (‹*post* 895 XI 19 – *ante* 897 III 4›; see in particular p. 106). Among the properties of the Lucchese episcopal church that Aloni of the deceased Angalpertus held *in beneficio* we find those in Cascio (*Cassu super Aniciano*), more specifically this was a *sors* from which he received half of the wine produced and three *solidi*, and a tract of *silva dominicata*, containing oak and chestnut trees, upon which twenty pigs could be raised. This identification seems to be borne out by the fact that Aloni figures among the subscribers in a *livellum* with which Bishop Gherard had granted some properties situated in that same locality (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 41, pp. 126-127 [895 XI 19, Lucca]). Aloni appears again as a subscriber on some occasions together with other beneficiaries listed in the polyptych, Lambert member of the Sons of Rodilandus in particular (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 33, pp. 110-111 [893 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 14, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]); Cunimund III of the *Cunimundinghi* (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 43-45 [890 V 27, Lucca]; n. 31, pp. 106-107 [893 V 15, Lucca]; n. 32, pp. 108-109 [893 V 19, Lucca]; n. 35, pp. 114-115 [894 XII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 14, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]) and Fraolmo of the Sons of Huscit (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 43-45 [890 V 27, Lucca]; n. 31, pp. 106-107 [893 V 15, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 33, pp. 110-111 [893 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 10, pp. 42-43 [898 IV 20, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 26, pp. 98-103 [899 II 3, Lucca]), the first three people listed at the start of the *Breve de feora* (on these men and their family groups, see Tomei, Milites elegantes; see, in particular, the family trees on pp. 456-461).

March 897; he does not, however, appear among those summoned to the trial[37]. The *Breve* reveals other properties of which, given the predominantly oral nature of the concession of *beneficia*, we would otherwise have remained ignorant[38]. Aloni *filio Angalperti* is shown to possess the Lucchese church of Santa Giulia, located in the eastern quarter of Porta San Gervasio[39], with a *sala*, a courtyard and a vegetable garden; in the locality of Vetriano, in the middle zone of the Valdiserchio, he had three *manentes* who paid him six *solidi*, while other *manentes*, resident in Cune, paid eighteen. Further properties were located in Cascio, in *Macretula*[40], in Guamo, where a man who rendered to Aloni half of his wine production lived, and there was a meadow which produced four cartloads of hay. In the locality of Arsina[41] he owned a *sors* which produced thirty *libras* of oil, a house with land which yielded a *modius* of agricultural produce, a vineyard from which a cart, probably of wine, left each year, a meadow and a wooded area which together yielded forty cartloads of hay. It is interesting to note that the writer of the *Breve* ended this list of properties with *et ceterum nescio*, a formula which suggests how difficult it was to locate all the properties, or at least all the produce, that Aloni could expect to derive from the *beneficium*. The list ends with a meadow, owned by the church of San Michele Arcangelo, which yielded twenty cartloads when harvested. Aloni's *beneficium* fell midway between the particularly substantial *beneficia* held by some of the men listed in the *Breve* and the much smaller ones bestowed upon others[42].

We can thus see how, over the course of more than a century, the members of this family knew how to maintain themselves within the circle of the city's elite, establishing close bonds with members of the other emerging groups, some of whom, like the Aldobrandeschi, had succeeded in propelling themselves into the highest ranks of the elite. The family group thus proves to have played an influential role in Lucchese society for a long time, its members present in public contexts when justice was being administered and as subscribers to private deeds related to areas where they probably held property,

[37] Placiti I, n. 102, pp. 368-373 (897 III 4, Firenze). For a dating of the *Breve* in relation to the *placitum*, accepted by the recent edition of *ChLA*, see Tomei, *Un nuovo "polittico" lucchese*.

[38] On the use of the term *beneficium* see Brancoli Busdraghi, *La formazione storica del feudo lombardo*; Brancoli Busdraghi, *Rapporti di vassallaggio e assegnazione in beneficio*, pp. 149-169; Spicciani, *Benefici livelli feudi*; for more recent perspectives see Fouracre, *The use of the term* beneficium, pp. 62-88; Kasten, *Beneficium*, pp. 243-260; Kasten, *Feudalesimo*, pp. 39-83; Fauliri, *Il* beneficium; Fauliri, *Il* beneficium *tra trappole fatali*.

[39] See Belli Barsali, *La topografia di Lucca*, p. 526 n. 3. This would seem to be the first mention in Lucca of a church dedicated to Saint Julia (on the spread of her worship and dedications in Lucca to this saint, see Bergamaschi, *S. Giulia a Lucca*; Bergamaschi, *Il culto di santa Giulia a Lucca*).

[40] A place name which no longer exists, it indicated a locality near San Vito, in the north eastern periphery of Lucca (see Pieri, *Toponomastica delle valli del Serchio*, p. 129).

[41] A locality situated in Valfreddana, north of Lucca (see Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, I, p. 148).

[42] For an analysis of some of the *beneficia* recorded in the *Breve de feora,* see Fauliri, *Il beneficium*, pp. 210-225.

such as that granted to Aloni *in beneficio*, largely in the area north of Lucca as well as in the city and its periphery. And so, we could imagine that, in all likelihood, the asset basis of the Sons of Dundulus had, in part, a fiscal origin[43]. None of the vassal Arochis' extant charters reveal the extent of his estate but his position as a royal and imperial vassal allows us to hypothesise that he was in receipt of fiscal assets, probably as a *beneficium*. Additionally, the fact that the documents bearing the subscriptions of, and/or produced by, members of this group date predominantly from the 840s would seem to indicate – always bearing in mind the dispersion of much of the early medieval documentation – that a different type of investment was being made as a way of establishing themselves more firmly within the circle of episcopal patronage just around the time that bishops Berengar (837-843) and subsequently Ambrose (843-852) were installed in Lucca[44]; an investment which – as the *Breve de feora* reveals – was fully realised by Aloni of the deceased Angalpertus. Clearly, certain members of this family group made it their business to make the most of any opportunity that arose to penetrate ever further into the nerve centres of Carolingian society, and the family appears to have long shared a common purpose.

3. *The Sons of Guntulus*

The other group, which I have called the Sons of Guntulus, attested initially as the elite of a village, is revealed as particularly active in Lucchese society from the early ninth century onwards and its members' names appear rather frequently throughout that century. Some of the Sons of Guntulus – unlike those of Dundulus – achieved public office. Taito of Lunata, the son of Guntulus, is first attested among the *adstantes* of the 801-802 *placitum* held in the cathedral in Lucca[45]. Subsequently he appears occasionally as a *lociservator*, before, a few years later, becoming a *scabinus*[46]. The office of

[43] Recently, the topic of the royal fisc in the early medieval West has become a focus of renewed scholarly attention. On this topic see for example Gasparri, *Le basi economiche del potere*; Bougard, *Les biens et les revenus publics*; Bianchi, Cantini, Collavini, *Beni pubblici*; Quirós Castillo, Santos Salazar, *Le basi economiche*; Le Jan, *Fisc et ressources royales*; Loré, *Introduction*; Lazzari, *La tutela del patrimonio fiscale*; Loré, *Spazi e forme dei beni pubblici*; Wickham, *Beni pubblici*; Santos Salazar; *Beni fiscali e frattura politica*; Santos Salazar, *Fiscal lands*; Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia*; Tabarrini, Lazzari, *Beni del fisco regio ed economia*; Cortese, *Beni fiscali e attività minerario-metallurgiche*; Schroeder, *Fiscal Estates and Economy*; Collavini, *'Mutazione signorile' e trasformazioni economiche*.

[44] On the political and social changes that occurred in Lucca while Berengar and Ambrose were the city's bishops, see Tomei, *Writing*, pp. 157-180.

[45] ChLA², LXXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (801 VI – 802 IV 14, Lucca). On Taito see Stoffella, *Lociservatores*, pp. 369-376. For a complete list of Taito's attestations see Appendix.

[46] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). On the title and function of the *lociservator* and the *scabinus,* see also Bougard, *La justice*, pp. 140-158; Castagnetti, *Giustizia partecipata*.

scabinus is later also held by his son Ardo, who establishes himself as one of the mainstays of the judicial college, very rarely absent from a *placitum*[47].

In contrast to the Sons of Dundulus, in this group it is possible to identify an early patrimonial base concentrated, from its first appearances in the second half of the eighth century, in the village of Lunata, a few kilometres east of Lucca[48]. The toponym is, in fact, often indicated beside non-autograph subscriptions and here the Sons of Guntulus begin to act both as the authors of charters and as subscribers to documents related to the local church of San Frediano, at which transformation into a *plebs*, as Marco Stoffella has clearly shown, they actively participated, together with the family group of the deacon and *lociservator* Ostrifusus[49]. Their establishment as the local rural elite of that area is also suggested, right from their first appearances in the records, by the name of one of the members of the family: Turingo, one of the sons of Tao of Lunata, bears the name of the toponym *vico Turingo*, today's Toringo, a village near Capannori, in the same area as Lunata was, and is, located. We can presume that this choice of name indicates the family's roots in the rural area where the patrimonial interests of the group were first concentrated[50].

The Sons of Guntulus did not confine their activities and self-advancement to the secular context, however. One of Tao's sons, the cleric Guntelmus, appears in the records from 816, as Bishop Jacob's *missus* tasked with verifying the regularity of an exchange between his uncle Taito and the archdeacon Ostrifusus[51], then going on to become rector of the churches of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito in Aniano[52]. We can thus observe another concen-

[47] ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca). Ardo then appears in another twelve charters (see Appendix).

[48] On the parish church of Lunata see Savigni, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 13-86 (see in particular pp. 25-29).

[49] See Stoffella, Lociservatores, pp. 370-371.

[50] Turingo first appears as a subscriber, together with his brother Ramingo, in ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); both exhibit a rudimentary ability to write. Turingo, whom we see acting for the last time in 851 (ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 [851 IX, Lucca]), is still alive in 854 when he is mentioned in the non-autograph subscription of his son Rodingo (ChLA², LXXX, n. 39, pp. 128-129 [854 X, 20, Lucca]). Ramingo, who like his brother Turingo subscribes in many Lucchese documents, also appears to be the author of one of the mutilated subscriptions in a heavily damaged *charta* where he is nevertheless mentioned as missus of Count Adalbert I of Lucca (see ChLA², LXXXI, n. 2, pp. 19-23 [855 IX 22, Lucca]: «[... si]cut supra legitur, misso fui»; I would like to thank Laura Pani for giving me her opinion on this subscription). For a complete list of Turingo and Ramingo attestations see Appendix. It is perhaps possible to suggest a descent from Ramingo for an agent of the same name who appears as a subscriber, adopting a Carolingian script, in two charters both relating to the area of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito (ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 10, pp. 44-47 [876 XI, 27, church of Santa Maria a Monte]; n. 22, pp. 80-83 [879 II 24, church of Santa Maria a Monte]). This agent could in turn be the father of the subdeacon Tao attested in Lucca in 891 and who subscribes in Carolingian minuscule (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 18, pp. 66-69 [891 VIII 21, Lucca]).

[51] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca). In the document, the name of the archdeacon is given as Austrifonsus; for an analysis of the relations between Taito's family group and that of Ostrifusus, see Stoffella, Lociservatores.

[52] It is probable that Guntelmus, like his successor Anualdus, became rector of the two churches at the same time, although in the extant documents we first see him as rector of the baptismal

tration of this family's interests in the area of Santa Maria a Monte, about 30 kilometres south of Lunata, where the family already had connections in the earliest years of the ninth century[53]. Guntelmus appears for the first time in the extant records as the rector of Santa Maria a Monte on the occasion of a *placitum* in April 822, as one of the parties in a conflict, with the brothers Natalis and Auripertus, over property located in Bulficiano[54]. Interestingly, his uncle Taito *scabinus* was the person presiding over the *placitum*, with a colleague called Donusdei, and among the subscribers we find Iohannes, the son of Taito and thus Guntelmus' cousin. In December of the same year, Guntelmus granted *in precaria* to the priest Austripertus the goods that the latter had given *pro anima* to the church of Santa Maria a Monte[55]; one of the subscriptions on the document is that of Turingo, the cleric's brother, and Guntelmus' cousin Iohannes also signed it. The close collaboration between the cleric and his brothers is also attested by a document from May 838 in which he appears as executor (*dispensator*) of the will of the nun Iltruda *de Lunata* – daughter of the deceased Argimus and Guntelmus' cousin – alongside the priest Osprandus[56]. Iltruda had drawn up her will with the consent of her brother and *mundoaldus* Ansimus, and Turingo had been chosen as the beneficiary of the sale: twenty silver *solidi* which were to be donated in memory of the dead nun[57].

But 838 was also the year of the *inquisitio* concerning the outlying church of San Frediano in which Guntelmus testified, along with many others, in support of the rights of the bishopric to the church[58]. The connection of the

church of Sant'Ippolito in 830 (ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 [830 IV 1, Lucca]), some years after the first mention as rector of Santa Maria a Monte. A *placitum* held in 851 (ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 [851 IX, Lucca]) also suggests that, according to a now lost charter, the cleric was connected to the church of Santa Maria at least as early as 817, when the rector was the priest Marinus. Guntelmus probably retained his position at the two churches until his death; indeed, in March 845 we see him vowing to Bishop Ambrose that he will fulfil his duties as rector of both Sant'Ippolito and Santa Maria a Monte, agreeing to pay sixty *solidi* every year in May, with the exception of the May to come (see ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 41, pp. 108-109 [845 III 21, Lucca]). A charter dated March 848 indicates that Guntelmus had by then died (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 [848 III 31, Lucca]) and we can place his death in the period before 19th February of that year, since in a document drawn up on that day the priest Anualdus is appointed by bishop Ambrose as rector of the baptismal church of Sant'Ippolito and the church of Santa Maria a Monte (see ChLA², LXXIX, n. 27, pp. 98-99 [848 II 19, Lucca]). On the churches of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito in Aniano see Mailloux, *L'évêque en son domaine*; Ciampoltrini, Manfredini, *Sant'Ippolito di Anniano*, pp. 45-50.

53 Among the subscribers to a donation made to the church of Santa Maria a Monte in 802 we find, for the first time, Turingo and Ramingo, the cleric Guntelmus' brothers (ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 [802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano]).

54 ChLA², LXXV, n. 8 pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). The locality of Bulficiano was situated *prope Monticlo* which, according to Silvio Pieri, is in the same area as Santa Maria a Monte (see Pieri, *Toponomastica della Valle dell'Arno*, pp. 318-319).

55 ChLA², LXXV, n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca).

56 ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca).

57 Ten years later, Turingo was to donate the vineyard in Lunata, the object of this sale, to the outlying church of San Michele *de Scragio* (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 [848 III 31, Lucca]).

58 ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV, Lucca).

family group with the bishop is further evidenced in a testimonial for the same church: another unusual document, which has also been studied by Castagnetti, who suggests that it is dated to the same time as the *inquisitio*, about a decade earlier than the dating of the *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*. Among the forty-five depositions in favour of the bishopric – almost all by lay people and only four by clerics – the brothers of the cleric, Turingo and Ramingo, as well as two of their cousins, the *scabinus* Ardo and Emitancus, are attested[59].

In the 840s, "immigrants" from north of the Alps start to appear in the area around Santa Maria a Monte, there having been no trace of them in any of the Lucchese sources for fifteen years. And so, in April 842, Hitto *homo Baioario*, is recorded as having received *ad lavorandum et censum persolvendum* from Guntelmus some land in Bulficiano, near Santa Maria a Monte[60]. Noticeable is the fact that some Franks appear among the subscribers. From the 840s on, in fact, Frankish names begin to reappear in the Lucchese records, corresponding with the time that the probably Frankish bishops Berengar and Ambrose were in office and Hagano was the count of Lucca (838-844), and after Lothar I's fifth and last sojourn in Italy (between 834 and 840) and the subsequent accession of Louis II in 844[61].

These transalpine arrivals who moved between Lucca and the area around Santa Maria a Monte lead us to an interesting case: a charter from April 846 which allows us to develop some ideas of relevance to our subject. On that day, the cleric Guntelmus received, in the vestibule of the church of Santa Maria, a donation made by a Frankish woman, Eugenia the widow of Adtjus and the daughter of the deceased Albertus; a donation to which the *signa manus* of three Alamanni are appended[62]. The nature of the property is also of interest: it is a house with outbuildings in Pontignano, near the church of Sant'Albano, which the husband of the woman had bought from Vuillelmus *homo Alamanno*[63]. After the treaty of Verdun (843), and as a consequence of the divisions promulgated in the previous decade, it is easy to imagine that many people who had property scattered across the empire might have chosen to sell some

[59] ChLA², LXXX, n. 35, pp. 118-120. On Andrea Castagnetti's proposed dating, see Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio, p. 267.
[60] ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 1, pp. 18-19 (842 IV 8, Lucca).
[61] See Cortese, *L'aristocrazia*, pp. 68-69. One of the two Frankish subscribers, Vuilimundus, was able to sign in his own hand, exhibiting a notable ability to write, while Hitto the Bavarian, could only append his *signum manus*, so too Rodericus *homo Francisco*. For the only two attestations of transalpine actors in the Lucchese records in the period between 814 and 840, see ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 30, pp. 106-107 (824 IV 30, Lucca). On migration in Carolingian Italy of transalpine agents, with a special focus on the Lucchese records, see Predatsch, *Migration*; Andreolli, *Uomini nel Medioevo*, pp. 67-77.
[62] ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte).
[63] Hunroc, Gherardus and Atto – the three subscribers described as Alamanni – are possibly in some way connected with Vuillelmus.

of it, that had perhaps become less easy to manage; Vuillelmus could well have been one of the Alamanni who decided to do this[64].

The family's involvement in this transaction, and their joint action alongside the cleric Guntelmus, are testified to by the autograph subscriptions of the *scabinus* Ardo, Guntelmus' cousin, those of the brothers Turingo and Ramingo, and, lastly, by the first and only attestation by Teutpaldus, the son of Turingo, and thus Guntelmus' nephew, who also appended his *signum manus*[65]. The house donated by the widow must have been shortly afterwards bestowed *livellario ordine* upon another agent by the cleric Guntelmus, and the deed, once again, was witnessed by his two brothers[66].

It is noteworthy that, in this case too, the performative context in which the deed was drawn up, the vestibule of the baptismal church of Sant'Ippolito, where Guntelmus was also rector, is described. Moreover, on this occasion an Alaman is again present – Teutpertus, who appends his *signum manus*, thus evoking the whisper of memories lingering around the property, which had in the past been owned by the Alaman Vuillelmus. Santa Maria a Monte, incidentally, was becoming an extremely important strategic centre for the bishop of Lucca; an area in which, some decades later, Bishop Peter II (896-932) would begin to build a castle[67]. This explains the greater attention to the performative aspects recorded in these charters, which reveal the relationships between local elites and people from other parts of the empire.

4. *The Sons of Iltifridus*

I have called the third and last family group investigated in this paper the Sons of Iltifridus. The group is characterised by its consistent presence,

[64] On the uncertainty and anxiety experienced by the regional aristocracy due to the divisions of the empire, promulgated between 829 and 839, and the subsequent confusion about which sovereign loyalty should be sworn, see Costambeys, Innes, MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, p. 382; Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Große*, pp. 255-259. In the *Divisio regnorum* of 806 and the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817 there are, however, specific sections which set out to clarify the question of loyalty following the carving up of the empire (see, respectively, MGH, Capit. I, n. 45, 9, p. 128; n. 136, 9, p. 272).

[65] As well as Teutpaldus, two other sons of Turingo appear in the *chartae*: Turingo (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 45 [849 XI 16, Lucca]) and Rodingo (n. 35, pp. 116-121 [848 VIII 7, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 10, pp. 42-43 [845/846-851 IX 10, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 90-91 [853 IV 15, Lucca]; n. 39, pp. 128-129 [854 X, 20, Lucca]).

[66] ChLA², LXXIX, n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*). Turingo's activities in support of his brother the rector, are also testified to in the last document in which we have a record of Guntelmus when he was alive. In April 847, we see Turingo acting as the executor of a will, alongside the archdeacon Teudilascius, on behalf of someone called Adalprandus who was donating property to the church of Santa Maria a Monte (n. 15, pp. 60-61 [847 IV 29, Lucca]).

[67] The area was accessible both by river, situated as it was at the confluence of numerous water courses flowing from northern Tuscany with the Arno River, and also by land along the ridge of the Cerbaie hills, and was situated very strategically, where routes to Pisa, Pistoia, Volterra, Siena and southern Tuscany met (see Stoffella, *Lociservatores*, pp. 374-375; Savigni, *Lucca*, p. 48).

often in conjunction with more active subscribers from the other two families. In the case of the Sons of Iltifridus, however, there is no trace of activity, in the extant charters, after the 860s. The first attestations of the family appear in the early years of the century when, in September 805, Iltifridus, son of the deceased Sichiprandus, signed a lease on behalf of Bishop Jacob: the other party was someone called Flaipertus, and the goods in question were some houses and properties (*dominicum* and *massaricium*) belonging to the church of San Quirico[68]. Significantly, in this, his first appearance in the records, Iltifridus places his *signum manus* immediately before Ghisus of the deceased Dundulus, in a charter which bears the autograph subscription of Bishop Jacob and the archdeacon Agiprandus. In other words, he was someone who was already part of the diocesan elite, on an equal standing with the members of the other two groups that we have been examining.

Ten years later we see him again with one of the Sons of Dundulus, Arochis, witnessing a *pro anima* donation to the church of San Donato of some land to be used as a paupers' graveyard (*ad pauperes seppelliendum*)[69]. There are ten attestations in all and at least seven of the documents in which the names of members of the families that we have been examining appear bear the subscription of Iltifridus[70]. In 822 we see him acting with other *homines idonei* as a *missus* for Bishop Peter I, tasked with assessing the propriety of an exchange between the cleric Alpertus II Aldobrandeschi and the church of San Donato[71]. Our last sighting of Iltifridus in a public context is at the top of a list of the many *arimanni* who attended the third sitting of the abovementioned *placitum* that took place in Lucca in April 822, at which a dispute between the cleric Guntelmus and the brothers Natalis and Auripertus was heard[72]. His attendance, recorded immediately after that of Bishop Peter I and the cleric Anspaldus – as well as the fact that members of the family group of the *scabinus* Taito, who presided over the hearing, and some members of other rising families like the Sons of Huscit figure among the members of the judicial college[73] – locates him within the diocesan elite, and thus as a member of the Lucchese establishment.

Of Iltifridus' five sons, Ildiprandus – last seen in November 862 – is the most frequently attested in the sources[74]. He appears almost always as a witness, but on one occasion figures among the *adstantes* at a *placitum*, along

[68] ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca).
[69] ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca).
[70] With the Sons of Dundulus in ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 119-121 (818 VI 26); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca); with the Sons of Guntulus in ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). For a complete list of Iltifridus' attestations see Appendix.
[71] ChLA², LXXV, n. 7, pp. 32-35 (821 X 17, Lucca).
[72] *Ibidem*, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca).
[73] On the Sons of Huscit see Tomei, Milites elegantes, pp. 223-357.
[74] Ildiprandus is attested on eighteen occasions (see Appendix).

with his brother Sichiprandus II[75]. His presence, in October 862, when an exchange between Count Hildiprandus and Bishop Jeremiah (the count's brother) was made, is interesting[76]. His non-autograph subscription in a charter also signed by the Count Hildiprandus and the imperial vassal Teudimundus, testifies to his integration within the diocesan elite and his proximity to the two centres of urban and regional power, both of which, at the time, revolved around the Aldobrandeschi family. On many occasions we find his subscription, like that of his brothers, alongside those of members of both the Sons of Dundulus and the Sons of Guntulus, confirming the fact that the interests of these family groups often coincided[77]. It should also be remembered, however, that it is very possible that these actors were largely motivated by a desire to make their presence felt, to show off in both public and private contexts, including in the production of charters, signing them in their own hand, or appending their *signum manus*. In sum, in Lucca, when a *charta* was drawn up, it was highly likely that one of these actors would be present, eagerly poised to carry out their role as subscribers.

5. *Conclusions*

The picture that emerges from this study of three families, all of whom can be considered part of a "diocesan elite", allows us to see how their members could avail themselves of a range of possible routes upwards, and use various ways to try to satisfy their ambition to enter the aristocracy and thereby to position themselves more firmly in Lucchese society. Among these routes was, of course, vassalage to the sovereign; the reinforcing of relations with the bishop – in particular with bishops Berengar and Ambrose –; the creation of networks of relations with other prominent families; and increasing power in some specific areas, as demonstrated by the case of the churches of Sant'Ippolito and Santa Maria a Monte. We can also observe a very evident network of subscribers weaving through these family groups. The Sons of Dundulus

[75] ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca).
[76] ChLA², LXXXI, n. 38, pp. 114-117 (862 X 9, Lucca). On the exchange, see Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 58-59.
[77] Unlike his father, however, Ildiprandus' subscription is attested on at least eight occasions, alongside the Sons of Dundulus (see ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 [828 XII 17, Lucca]; n. 23, pp. 86-89 [830 IV 1, Lucca]; n. 35, pp. 128-129 [832 XII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXIX, n. 22, pp. 86-87 [847 VII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 3, pp. 20-22 [850 III 7, Lucca]; n. 11, pp. 44-45 [851 IX 10, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 [858 III 31, Lucca]; n. 41, pp. 124-127 [863 IV 20, Lucca]) but not with the Sons of Guntulus. The latter are, however, present with Ildiprandus and his brother Sichiprandus II as *adstantes* on the occasion of a *placitum* held at the ducal court in Lucca in June 847 (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]), and their subscriptions sometimes appear alongside those of three other Sons of Iltifridus: with Sichiprandus II in ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); with Periprandus in ChLA², LXXVII, n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); with Andrea in ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca).

appear almost exclusively as subscribers, and so we have no way of determining with any certainty how the family first began to accumulate property. The same applies to the Sons of Iltifridus, all trace of whom disappears from the extant charters after the 860s. That said, the appearance of members of these two families in deeds related to particular areas and properties can, of course, tell us a certain amount. The case of the Sons of Guntulus is, to some extent, different: they subscribed a considerable number of *chartae*, enabling us to follow some of their careers, both as laymen and clerics, and their activities as subscribers or *adstantes* at *placita* throughout the century, if not beyond. It is only for this family group that we are able to identify with some certainty where they originated and first owned property – the village of Lunata, as demonstrated by the non-autograph subscriptions – and clearly see their investment in the area of Santa Maria a Monte coinciding with Guntelmus' clerical career. As already mentioned, it is possible that most of the wealth possessed by these family groups was originally derived from the royal fisc: the extant sources fail to give us a clear picture of the extent of these assets, but the positions held by some members of the families that we have investigated here allow us to make certain assumptions. Glimpses of some family groups are caught as early as the second half of the eighth century, but it is from the start of the ninth, and above all during Lothar's reign, that they are most prominent on the local scene. Unlike the families from which would spring the *milites elegantes* – members of the opulent court of Marquis Adalbert II[78] –, whose interests intersect with those of these groups during the period that concerns us here, they never, however, attain the highest ranks. Nor did they all succeed in maintaining their positions over the long term, or in climbing any higher in the ranks of the elite, even when they took what appears to be the most promising route: the case of the Sons of Iltifridus, for example, allows us to see how, despite their consistent presence at the drawing up of numerous charters in Lucca, alongside the Sons of Dundulus and of Guntulus, at a certain point, they disappear. There are many possible reasons for this, and it is hard to identify them precisely. Their disappearance could have been determined by a shift of interests outside the episcopal ambit, by a change in the onomastics which makes it difficult to follow the lines of descendance, or simply by the extinction of the family line due to a lack of legitimate heirs to step into the shoes so carefully fashioned over the course of decades. Moreover, it is not necessarily the case that the fortunes of those groups whose activities for a certain period intersected with the city's episcopal power – the perspective given by the *chartae* – but then vanish off the episcopal radar, had, in fact, declined.

The situation which emerges from the sources is thus very fluid, at least for the whole of the first half of the ninth century; some further decades were to pass before it stabilised. We have before us a society in transformation

[78] Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, II, pp. 38-39.

characterised by a teeming host of actors, some more visible than others, who operate both in their own interests and in those of their family groups, seeking to ensure that their descendants can maintain the positions that they have attained; supporting each other – as evident in the case of the brothers of the cleric Guntelmus, but also in the doings of members of the other two groups –; valorising memories, and presenting a united front in public. These actors sought to present an image of the success of their clan in the light of their personal aspirations and ambitions; they made the most of the avenues that opened up for those who could act with alacrity, initiative and sufficient flexibility to adapt to the changes reshaping Lucchese society within the wider political context at the time of Lothar I.

Appendix

Charters in which the Sons of Dundulus appear to be alive

II
Dundulus (776-†803): ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1058, pp. 48-49 (776 XII, Monaciatico).

III
Aloitus (779-815): ChLA, XXXVII, n. 1071, pp. 13-15 (779 XII, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 8, pp. 41-43 (815 I 11, Lucca).

Arochis (803-832): ChLA², LXXII, n. 24, pp. 83-89 (803 VII, the cathedral in Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (803 VIII, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-93 (803 VIII, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 102-103 (804 aprile 29, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 104-105 (804 IV 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIII, n. 9, pp. 39-41 (807 IV 14, Lucca); n. 50, pp. 164-171 (813 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 3, pp. 21-24 (813 XI 8, Lucca); n. 6, pp. 33-35 (814 IV 20); n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 19-21 (818 VI 26); ChLA², LXXV, n. 28, pp. 102-103 (824 III 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 114-115 (825 VII 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 2, pp. 19-21 (826 X 19, Lucca); n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca).

Ghisus (816-819; †823): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 110-112 (818 III 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca).

Aloni (807-849): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 3, pp. 19-21 (807 III, Lucca); n. 5, pp. 26-29 (807 IV 1-14, Lucca); n. 9, pp. 39-41 (807 IV 14, Lucca), n. 21, pp. 75-77 (808 VII, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 79-82 (808 VIII, Lucca); n. 29, pp. 101-103 (809 IX 22, Lucca, in the bishopric see); n. 43, pp. 144-146 (812 I 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 1, pp. 14-16 (820 IX 3, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 18, pp. 69-71 (829 XI 16, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 133-135 (833 XII 6, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 137-139 (833 XII 6, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 140-141 (834 I 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV); n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 84-85 (839 VI 14, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 86-87 (839 VI 14, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca).

IV
Aroghisus/Arochis (839/840-855): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 112-113 (840 III 10, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 122-123 (845 VI 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 10, pp. 45-47 (846 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 105-107 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 128-129 (848 IX 2, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 148-149 (849 XI 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 2, pp. 18-19 (850 II 21, Lucca); n. 3, pp. 20-22 (850 III 7, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 68-71 (852 II 17, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-99 (853 IV, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-117 (853 XII 22, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (855 IV 15, Lucca).

Iohannes (815-839/840): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 19, pp. 73-75 (829 XII 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca).

Andrea (818-844): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (823 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 112-113 (831 IV 9, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca).

V
Angalpertus (844-858; †873): ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 42, pp. 110-111 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 112-113 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 122-123 (845 VI 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-92 (847 IX 4 or X 6 or XI 4, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 64-67 (852 II 17,

Lucca);, n. 33, pp. 112-113 (853 XII 12, Lucca);, n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca);, n. 45, pp. 146-147 (855 IV 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca).

Aroghisus (847-855): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca).

Adalpertus (840-855): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 37, pp. 114-115 (840 III 13, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 16, pp. 48-49 (843 XII 15, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 60-61 (844 I 27, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 68-71 (844 III 7, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 72-73 (844 IV 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 96-97 (844 IX 5, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 100-101 (844 XII 14, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 118-119 (845 V 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 20, pp. 76-77 (847 V 21, in *loco Casanova*); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 86-87 (847 VII 30, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-92 (847 IX 4 or X 6 or XI 4, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 112-113 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-115 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 13, pp. 54-55 (851 X 9, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca).

Adelghisus "Appo" (845-853): ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 42, pp. 110-111 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 112-113 (845 IV 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 98-99 (848 II 19, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 112-113 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-115 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 122-123 (848 VIII 31, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 124-127 (848 IX 1, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 128-129 (848 IX 2, Lucca); n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (849 XI 16, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 148-149 (849 XI 16, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 154-157 (850 I 20, *ad Curte Nova finibus Maritimense*); n. 50, pp. 158-159 (850 II 10, San Quirico di Moriano); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 5, pp. 27-29 (850 VI 22, Lucca); n. 6, pp. 30-31 (850 VI 22, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 18, pp. 72-73 (852 II 29, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 76-78 (853 II 11, Capannoli); n. 21, pp. 79-81 (853 III 11, Lucca).

VI
Aloni (873-899): ChLA², LXXXIII, n. 20, pp. 70-73 (873 X 21, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 42-45 (890 V 27, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 106-107 (893 V 15, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 108-109 (893 V 19, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 110-111 (893 VI 25, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 114-115 (894 XII 30, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 126-127 (895 XI 19, Lucca); n. 47, pp. 144-147 (897 III 24, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 148-151 (897 III 24, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 152-153 (897 III 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 8, pp. 36-38 (898 IV 15, Lucca); n. 10, pp. 42-43 (898 IV 20, Lucca); n. 14, pp. 52-57 (898 V 9, Ponte a Cappiano); n. 15, pp. 58-63 (898 VI 30, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-93 (898 XII 27, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 94-97 (898 XII 27, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 98-103 (898 II 3, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 116-121 (899 XI, 23; ChLA², CXVII, n. 17, pp. 94-107 (*post* 895 XI 19 – *ante* 897 III 4).

Fraimundus (886): ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca).

Charters in which the Sons of Guntulus appear to be alive

I
Guntulus (767-776; †789): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata); ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1056, pp. 42-43 (776 V 26, Lucca).

II
Tao (767-816; †828): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 20, pp.74-76 (816 VII 28, Lucca).

Aimo *vir devotus* (767-†822): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata).

Argimus (769-789; †811): ChLA XXXIV, n. 1008, pp. 86-87 (769 XI 14, Lucca); ChLA XXXVI, n. 1049, pp. 28-29 (774 IX, Lunata); ChLA, XXXVIII, n. 1124, pp. 88-91 (789 VI 9, Lucca).

Gumpertus (776-806): ChLA², XXXIV, n. 1056, pp. 42-43 (776 V 26, Lucca); ChLA², LXXII, n. 47, pp. 148-149 (806 XI 28, Lucca).

Taito *lociservator/scabinus* (801/802-830; †838): ChLA², LXXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 ([801 VI – 802 IV 14], in the cathedral of Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 40, pp. 137-138 (825 XII 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 12, pp. 50-52 (828 VII 8, Nazzano *near* Avenza); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 21, pp. 79-81 (830 I 11, Lucca).

III
Guntelmus *clericus* (816-847; †848): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 74-76 (816 VII 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 1, pp. 14-16 (820 IX 3, Lucca); n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 147-149 (834 V 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 2, pp. 17-21 (835 VIII 28, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV); n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 15, pp. 54-55 (838 VIII 1, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 59-61 (838 IX 6, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 1, pp. 18-19 (842 IV 8, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 84-85 (844 V 24, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 108-109 (845 III 21, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); n. 15, pp. 60-61 (847 IV 29, Lucca).

Turingo I (802-854): ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); ChLA², LXXV, n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 118-121 (831 X 7, Lucca); n. 42, pp. 150-151 (834 V 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); n. 15, pp. 60-61 (847 IV 29, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 98-99 (848 II 19, Lucca); n. 29, pp. 102-104 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (849 XI 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 7, pp. 32-34 (850 VIII 2, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (853 IV 15, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]); n. 39, pp. 128-129 (854 X 20, Lucca).

Ramingo I (802-855): ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 9, pp. 42-43 (828 II 19, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 2, pp. 17-21 (835 VIII 28, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); ChLA², LXXX, n. 7, pp. 32-34 (850 VIII 2, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 2, pp. 19-23 (855 IX 22, Lucca).

Laipo (792-840): ChLA, XXXIX, n. 1132, pp. 29-31 (792 V 18, church of San Frediano in Lunata); ChLA², LXXV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (822 XII 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Emitancus (822-840): ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Iltruda *ancilla Dei* (811-815; †838): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 38, pp. 127-129 (811 V 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca).

Ansimus (838): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca).

Iohannes (812-840): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 46, pp. 152-155 (812 V, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 40, pp. 138-140 (819 VI 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 50-53 (822 XII 16, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 67-69 (823 VII 18, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 74-77 (822 XI – 823 VII 31, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 12, pp. 50-52 (828 VII 8, Nazzano *near* Avenza); n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 66-68 (829 IX 15, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 114-117 (831 X 5, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 130-132 (833 VI 19, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 37, pp. 114-115 (840 III 13, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Ardo *scabinus* (830-853): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 40, pp. 143-145 (834 I 13, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 3, pp. 22-23 (835 IX 4, Lucca); n. 13, pp.

48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 140-142 (840 XII 18, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 150-151 (841 XII 3, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 74-75 (844 IV 10, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 88-89 (847 X 1, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-99 (853 IV, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]).

IV
Turingo II (849): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 45 (849 XI 16, Lucca).

Rodingo (845/851-854): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 10, pp. 42-43 (845/846-851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (853 IV 15, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 128-129 (854 X 20, Lucca).

Teutpaldus (846): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte).

Ramingo II (876-879): ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 10, pp. 44-47 (876 XI, 27, church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 22, pp. 80-83 (879 II 24, church of Santa Maria a Monte).

V
Tao *subdiaconus* (891): ChLA ², LXXXVI, n. 18, pp. 66-69 (891 VIII 21, Lucca).

Charters in which the Sons of Iltifridus appear to be alive

II
Iltifridus (805-822; †828): ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 118-119 (805 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 14, pp. 57-59 (816 I 31, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 66-67 (816 IV 5, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 119-121 (818 VI 26, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 7, pp. 32-35 (821 X 17, Lucca); n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca).

III
Ildiprandus (828-862): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 42, pp. 128-129 (840 V 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 31, pp. 86-87 (844 VII 26, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 5, pp. 28-30 (846 III 10, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 86-87 (847 VII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 3, pp. 20-22 (850 III 7, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 106-107 (853 IX, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 12, pp. 46-47 (856 XI 11, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 84-85 (859 II 7, Lucca); n. 28, pp. 90-91 (859 XI 18, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 108-109 (861 IX 3, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 114-117 (862 X 9; Lucca); n. 39, pp. 118-119 (862 XI 5, Lucca).

Sichiprandus II (828-855): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 112-113 (831 IV 9, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 120-121 (840 IV 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca: *Sighiprando*).

Periprandus (831-843): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 29, pp. 108-111 (831 IV 8, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 9, pp. 34-35 (843 VI 12, Lucca); n. 10, pp. 36-37 (843 VI 12, Lucca).

Andrea (832-851): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 34, pp. 126-127 (832 X 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 7, pp. 32-33 (837 XI 10, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 101-103 (839 XI 11, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 130-132 (840 V 28, Lucca); n. 50, pp. 152-155 (842 I 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 104-105 (844 XII 27, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 105-107 (848 III 31, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca).

Richiprandus (836): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 4, pp. 24-27 (836 VI 9, Lucca).

Family trees[79]

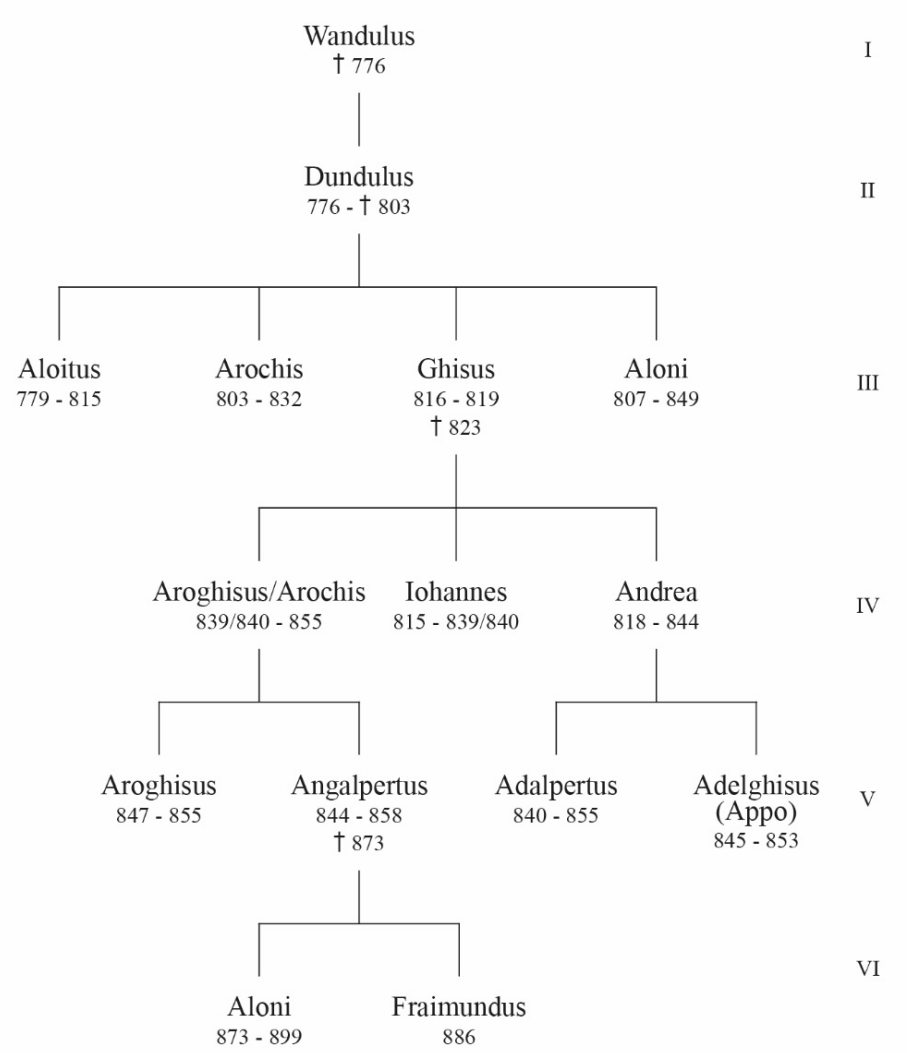

Figure 1. The Sons of Dundulus.

[79] Graphics by Giulio Mattiello.

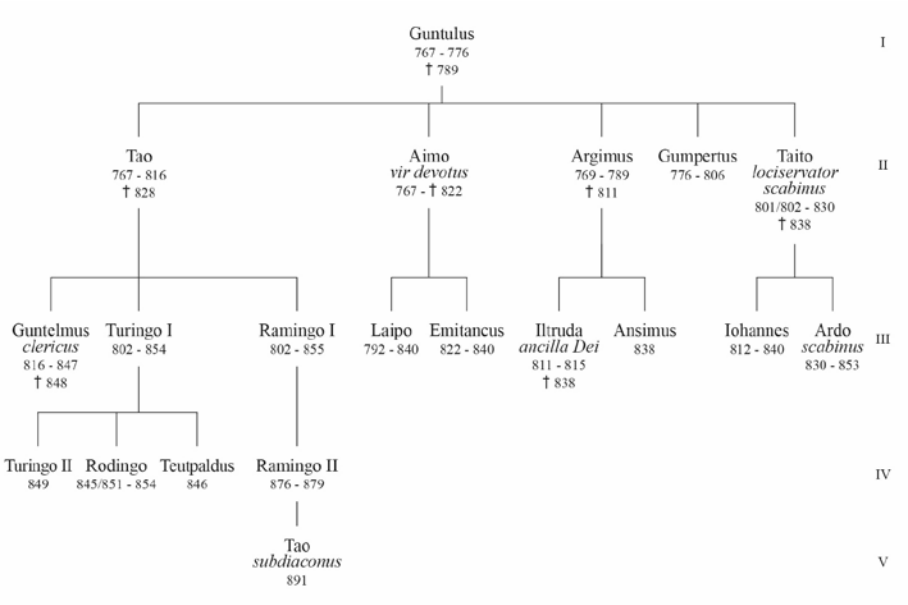

Figure 2. The Sons of Guntulus.

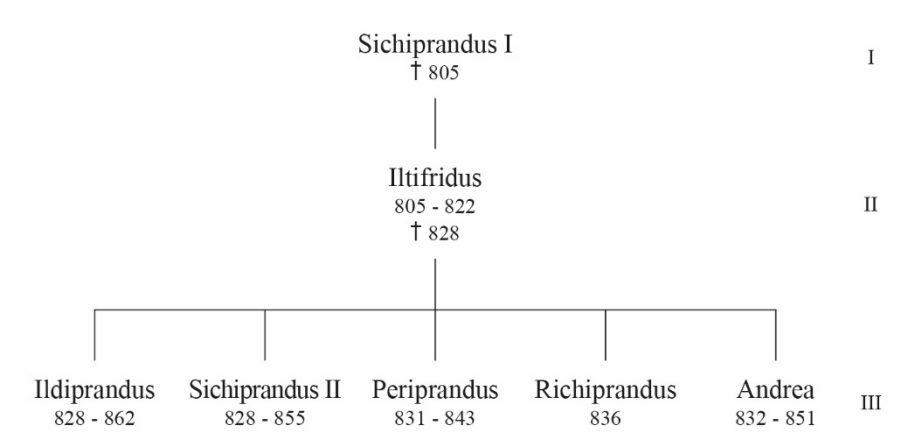

Figure 3. The Sons of Iltifridus.

Works cited

B. Andreolli, *Uomini nel Medioevo. Studi sulla società lucchese dei secoli VIII-XI*, Bologna 1983.

I. Belli Barsali, *La topografia di Lucca nei secoli VIII-XI*. Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Lucca, 3-8 ottobre 1971, Spoleto 1973, pp. 461-554.

G. Bergamaschi, *Il culto di santa Giulia a Lucca: fonti liturgiche, archeologiche, documentarie*, in *Un discepolo innamorato. Studi offerti a don Marcello Brunini direttore dell'archivio storico di Lucca*, ed. V. Cappellini, T.M. Rossi, G.E. Unfer Verre, Lucca 2021, pp. 23-47.

G. Bergamaschi, *S. Giulia a Lucca: la chiesa e il culto della santa*, in «Nuova rivista storica», 90 (2006), pp. 764-782.

G. Bianchi, F. Cantini, S.M. Collavini, *Beni pubblici di ambito toscano*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 327-348.

F. Bougard, *Les biens et les revenus publics dans le royaume d'Italie (jusqu'au milieu du X^e siècle)*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 79-120.

F. Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie de la fin du VIII^e siècle au début du XI^e siècle*, Rome 1995 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 291).

P. Brancoli Busdraghi, *La formazione storica del feudo lombardo come diritto reale*, Milano 1965 (Spoleto 1999²).

P. Brancoli Busdraghi, *Rapporti di vassallaggio e assegnazione in beneficio nel Regno italico anteriormente alla costituzione di Corrado II*, in *Il Feudalesimo nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2000 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 47), pp. 149-169.

A. Castagnetti, *Arimanni di Lucca e distinzione sociale nelle sepolture*, Verona 2015.

A. Castagnetti, *Giustizia partecipata. Lociservatores, scabini e astanti nei placiti lucchesi (785-822)*, Verona 2017.

A. Castagnetti, *L'*inquisitio *dei missi imperiali per S. Frediano di Lucca (838)*, Verona 2020.

A. Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali a Lucca in età carolingia*, in *Il patrimonio documentario della chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca*, ed. S. Pagano, P. Piatti, Firenze 2010 (Toscana sacra, 2), pp. 211-284.

G. Ciampoltrini, R. Manfredini, *Sant'Ippolito di Anniano a Santa Maria a Monte: preistoria e storia di una pieve sull'Arno*, Pontedera (Pisa) 2005.

S.M. Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura nella Tuscia dei secoli IX-XI*, in «Scrittura e civiltà», 18 (1994), pp. 23-51.

S.M. Collavini, «Honorabilis domus et spetiosissimus comitatus». *Gli Aldobrandeschi da "conti" a "principi territoriali" (secoli IX-XIII)*, Pisa 1998 (Studi medievali, 6).

S.M. Collavini, *'Mutazione signorile' e trasformazioni economiche. Considerazioni a partire dal destino dei beni fiscali in Toscana*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 24 (2023), 1, pp. 349-370.

S.M. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle élites laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e au XI^e siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007 (Haut Moyen Âge, 5), pp. 319-340.

M.E. Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana. Sette secoli (VI-XII)*, Spoleto 2017.

M.E. Cortese, *Beni fiscali e attività minerario-metallurgiche*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 24 (2023), 1, pp. 251-283.

M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes, S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2011.

M.J. Costambeys, *The laity, the clergy, the scribes and their archives: the documentary record of eight- and ninth-century Italy*, in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W.C. Brown, M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes, A.J. Kosto, Cambridge 2013, pp. 231-258.

J.-P. Devroey, *Puissants et misérables. Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VI^e-XI^e siècles)*, Bruxelles 2006.

M. Fauliri, *Il* beneficium *tra dono e inalienabilità: indagine su uno strumento di relazione nel* regnum Italiae *(secc. VIII-X)*, Tesi di dottorato in "Culture d'Europa. Ambiente, spazi, storie, arti, idee", Università degli Studi di Trento, XXXII ciclo, a.a. 2018-2019.

M. Fauliri, *Il* beneficium *tra trappole fatali e particolarismi regionali: una proposta metodologica per una nuova periodizzazione di uno strumento di relazione nel regno italico (secc. VIII-X)*, in «Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione», 29 (2020), 2, pp. 16-37.

P.J. Fouracre, *The use of the term* beneficium *in Frankish sources*, in *The Languages of Gifts in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies, P.J. Fouracre, Cambridge 2010, pp. 62-88.
S. Gasparri, *Le basi economiche del potere pubblico in età longobarda*, in *Between taxation and rent: fiscal problems from late antiquity to early Middle Ages / Entre el impuesto y la renta: problemas de la fiscalidad tardoantigua y altomedieval*, ed. P.C Dìaz Martìnez, I. Martìn Viso, Bari 2011, pp. 71-85.
M. Innes, *Archives, documents and landowners in Carolingian Francia*, in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W.C. Brown, M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes, A.J. Kosto, Cambridge 2013, pp. 152-188.
B. Kasten, Beneficium *zwischen Landleihe und Lehen – eine alte Frage, neu gestellt*, in *Mönchtum-Kirche-Herrschaft, 750-1000. Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D.R. Bauer, R. Hiestand, B. Kasten, S. Lorenz, Sigmaringen 1998, pp. 243-260.
B. Kasten, *Feudalesimo: dato di fatto o costruzione?*, in «Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento - Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient», 38 (2012), 1, pp. 39-83.
T. Lazzari, *La tutela del patrimonio fiscale: pratiche di salvaguardia del pubblico e autorità regia nel regno longobardo del secolo VIII*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 18 (2017), 1, pp. 1-23.
R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e^-X^e^ siècle). Essai d'antropologie sociale*, Paris 1995.
R. Le Jan, *Fisc et ressources royales dans le royaume franc aux IX^e^* et *X^e^ siècles*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 121-155.
Liutprandus Cremonensis, *Antapodosis*, in *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker, Hannover-Leipzig 1915, pp. 1-158 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 41).
V. Loré, *Introduction. Les biens publics Durant le haut Moyen Âge: historiographie et enjeux*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 7-28.
V. Loré, *Spazi e forme dei beni pubblici nell'alto medioevo. Il regno longobardo*, in *Spazio pubblico e spazio privato tra storia e archeologia (secoli VI-X)*, ed. G. Bianchi, M.C. La Rocca, T. Lazzari, Turnhout 2018, pp. 59-88.
A. Mailloux, *L'évêque en son domaine: une operation de lotissement à Santa Maria a Monte, en 898, dans le diocèse de Lucques*, in «Rives nord-méditerranéennes», 7 (2001), pp. 81-102.
R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge 1989.
S. Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Große: das Leben des Höflings Einhard*, Stuttgart 2014.
S. Pieri, *Toponomastica della Valle dell'Arno*, Roma 1919.
S. Pieri, *Toponomastica delle valli del Serchio e della Lima*, Torino 1898.
P. Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, Sozialverhältnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin 2021.
J.A. Quìros Castillo, I. Santos Salazar, *Le basi economiche del potere pubblico in una periferia molto dinamica: Castiglia, Álava, Pamplona (900-1050)*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 385-409.
E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico, fisico, storico della Toscana contenente la descrizione di tutti I luoghi del Granducato, Ducato di Lucca, Garfagnana e Lunigiana*, I, Firenze 1833 (ed. Anast. Reggello 2005; consultabile anche online: < http://stats-1.archeogr.unisi.it/repetti/ >).
I. Santos Salazar, *Beni fiscali e frattura politica: Persiceta e l'abbazia di Nonantola tra Bizantini e Carolingi*, in «Società e storia», 166 (2019), pp. 681-702.
I. Santos Salazar, *Fiscal lands, Rural Communities and the Abbey of Nonantola: Social Inequality in Ninth-Century Emilia (Italy)*, in *Social inequality in early medieval empire. Local societies and beyond*, ed. J.A. Quirós Castillo, Turnhout 2020, pp. 203-225.
I. Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia carolingia (774-924)*, Roma 2021.
R. Savigni, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e dinamiche sociali lungo la via Francigena: le pievi di Lammari e Lunata dal primo medioevo al XIII secolo*, in *S. Frediano di Lunata e S. Iacopo di Lammari: due pievi capannoresi sulla via Francigena*, ed. G. Concioni, Capannori 1997, pp. 13-86.
R. Savigni, *Lucca*, Spoleto 2022.
N. Schroeder, *Fiscal Estates and Economy in the Middle Meuse Basin, 9^th^-11^th^ Centuries*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 24 (2023), 1, pp. 311-327.

H. Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Sozialstructur einer Herzogstadt in der Toskana*, Tübingen 1972 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 41).
A. Sennis, *Documentary practices, archives and laypeople in central Italy, mid ninth to eleventh centuries*, in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W.C. Brown, M.J. Costambeys, M.J. Innes, A.J. Kosto, Cambridge 2013, pp. 321-335.
A. Spicciani, *Benefici livelli feudi. Intreccio di rapporti tra chierici e laici nella Tuscia medioevale. La creazione di una società politica*, Pisa 1996.
M. Stoffella, *Per una categorizzazione delle* élites *nella Toscana altomedievale nei secoli VIII-X*, in *Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, H.-W. Goetz, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2011 (Haut Moyen Âge, 13), pp. 325-350.
M. Stoffella, Lociservatores *nell'Italia carolingia: l'evidenza toscana*, in *Studi sul medioevo per Andrea Castagnetti*, ed. M. Bassetti, A. Ciaralli, M. Montanari, G.M. Varanini, Bologna 2011, pp. 345-382.
L. Tabarrini, T. Lazzari, *Beni del fisco regio ed economia nei secoli del Medioevo alto e centrale: una proposta*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 24 (2023), 1, 237-249.
P. Tomei, Milites elegantes. *Le strutture aristocratiche nel territorio lucchese (800-1100 c.)*, Firenze 2019 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 34).
P. Tomei, *Un nuovo polittico lucchese del IX secolo: il* breve de multis pensionibus, in «Studi medievali», 53 (2012), pp. 567-602.
P. Tomei, *The Power of the Gift. Early Medieval Lucca and its Court*, in *Origins of a New Economic Union (7th-12th Century). Preliminary Results of the nEU-Med Project: October 2015-March 2017*, ed. G. Bianchi, R. Hodges, Firenze 2018 (Biblioteca di Archeologia Medievale, 25), pp. 123-134.
P. Tomei, *Writing, textuality, politics in the Lucca of Bishops Berengar and Ambrose (837-852)*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 41), pp. 157-180.
C. Wickham, *Beni pubblici: a provisional typology*, in *Biens publics, biens du roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019, pp. 413-422.
C. Wickham, *The mountains and the city. The Tuscan Appennines in the early Middle Ages*, Oxford 1988.

Manuel Fauliri
University of Trento (Italy)
manuel.fauliri@unitn.it
0000-0003-4669-3239

The aristocracies of Rome in the age of Lothar

by Veronica West-Harling

Contrary to Lombard and Carolingian Italy, there was no Frankish aristocracy in Rome itself. This paper discusses the relations between the Roman aristocracies and the emperor, which need to be seen within the context of the history between the elites of the city and the papacy after the end of Byzantine rule in Rome. Such relations can explain the tensions between the aristocracies and the papacy, which played into the hands of Lothar as he himself tried to support the pro-Frankish elites whenever possible, to provide a counterweight to papal control.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Rome; Emperor Lothar; aristocracies; Pope Paschal I; Pope Sergius II; Pope Leo IV; *Constitutio Romana*.

Veronica West-Harling, University of Oxford, United Kingdom, veronica.west-harling@history.ox.ac.uk, 0000-0002-0941-300X

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Veronica West-Harling, *The aristocracies of Rome in the age of Lothar*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.14, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 241-256, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

Capit. it. = *I capitolari italici. Storia e diritto della dominazione carolingia in Italia*, ed. C. Azzara, P. Moro, Roma 1998 Altomedioevo, 1).

CB = *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome IV-IX Centuries*, ed. R. Krautheimer, 5 vol., Città del Vaticano 1937-1970.

Chronicon di Benedetto = *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. G. Zucchetti, Roma 1920, pp. 1-187 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 55).

Libellus de imperatoria potestate = *Il Chronicon di Benedetto monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. G. Zucchetti, Roma 1920, pp. 191-210 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 55).

LP = *Le* Liber Pontificalis. *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vol., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1886-1892.

MGH, AB = *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1883 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 5).

MGH, Astronomus, *Vita* = Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 280-555 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

MGH, ARF = *Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze, Hannoverae 1895 (MGH, SS rer. Germ, 6).

MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).

MGH, Einhard, *Vita* = Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1883 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 25).

MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler et al., Berolini 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).

MGH, Notker, *Gesta* = Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H.F. Haefele, Berlin 1959 (MGH, SS rer. Germ. N. S., 12).

MGH, Thegan, *Gesta* = Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. E. Tremp, Hannover 1995, pp. 168-277 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 64).

RF II = *Il regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino*, vol. 2, ed. I. Giorgi, U. Balzani, Roma 1879.

1. *Introduction: the absence of a visible Frankish aristocracy in Rome*

Naturally, Rome is different from the Carolingian kingdom of Italy, in that there was no Frankish aristocracy settled there. In spite of the considerable influence of Carolingian architecture, liturgy or religious reforms in the city, as advocated by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious[1], there was never even a

[1] About liturgical crossinfluences, the standard classic accounts are those by Cyrille Vogel: Vogel, *Les échanges liurgiques*, pp. 185-295; Vogel, *Les motifs de la romanisation du culte*, pp. 15-41; and Vogel, *La réforme cultuelle*, pp. 172-272; and Gy, *L'unification liturgique de l'Occident*, pp. 601-612. More recently, work on the Frankish impact on the Roman liturgy has included Hen, *The royal patronage of liturgy in Frankish Gaul*; Hen, *The Romanization of the Frankish liturgy*; Hen, *Die karolingische Liturgie und Rom*; Hen, *When Liturgy gets out of hand* and the work of McKitterick, *Unity and diversity in the Carolingian Church* and McKitterick, *The Liturgical Past and Papal History*. In Italian see also Carmassi, *La liturgia romana tra il V e il IX secolo*; Albiero, *"Secundum romanam consuetudinem"*. The most recent work on Carolingian architectural influences is by Barelli, *I quadriportici nell'architettura religiosa* and Barelli, *Architettura e tecnica costruttiva*; see also the classic work of Krautheimer: CB, vol. 3, pp. 87-124 (esp. 108-113) and CB, vol. 4, pp. 1-36 (esp. 29-31). More generally, Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*, and his reviewed considerations: Pace, *La "felix culpa" di Richard Krautheimer'* pp. 65-75. For sculpture, see Ballardini, *Scultura per l'arredo liturgico* and Barresi, Pensabene, *La "rinascita carolingia" del IX secolo*. Carolingian silverwork was a favoured form in Rome see Ebern, *Werke liturgischer Goldschmiedekunst*. For painting and iconography, the bibliography

permanent imperial missus in Rome, as far as we know. *Missi*, when present, were indeed Franks, like Abbot Wala of Corbie, one of Lothar's most trusted advisors, or Franks who had established themselves in Italy under Lothar, for example the Marquess of Tuscany Adalbert (834-886) and Count Bernard of Verona, who attempted to force through the election of Anastasius as pope in 855, but were defeated[2]. Many Frankish *missi*, both bishops and counts, were sent to Rome by the emperors, especially if there was some quarrel which had to be settled, or indeed a papal appeal to them in case of conflict with the Roman elites. The most famous example was the events of 799, when Pope Leo III was deposed by a large faction of the nobility of the city, and Charlemagne had to send envoys to establish a tribunal before which the pope took an oath of innocence[3]. The same situation arose again during the reign of Pope Paschal, when Louis the Pious in October 823 sent *missi* to deal with the accusations against the pope[4]. Other occasions than elections also led to the presence of *missi* on an ad hoc basis, such as the *placitum* concerning the 829 court case between the papacy and the abbey of Farfa represented by its Abbot Ingoald, with regard to contested properties[5].

The absence of Frankish settlers from the kind of elite that we have in Northern and Central Italy, in Rome, is very clear. There were, of course, Frankish pilgrims who visited or lived there, including in the *Schola Francorum*, allegedly established by Charlemagne. They may be the Franks whom, sometime between 847 and 852, the pope exhorted to fight *viriliter* against the enemies of the faith and adversaries everywhere, promising those who died in such wars entry into the Kingdom of Heaven[6] – clearly referring to the Saracen incursions. This paper deals exclusively with the city of Rome, as opposed to the papal territory, which is a much more complex and vast issue, and where the Frankish presence was, of course, considerable. And in the city of Rome, we find no evidence of a Frankish aristocratic presence. How can one then assess the Roman aristocracy's association with Lothar?

is enormous, see West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice,* pp. 363-374 and the notes with bibliography.

[2] For Wala's mission, see MGH, AB, pp. 11-13, *ad annum* 836 and *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 34, note 1 and p. 80, note 4. On the intricacies of this election and the imperial influence on it, including on the presence in Rome of the Emperor Louis's representative, Bishop Arsenius of Orte, a close relative of Anastasius, see LP, vol. 2, pp. 103 and 149, note 4. For Adalbert's career, Fasoli, *Adalberto*, pp. 219-221. For Bernard's see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 148-151.

[3] LP, vol. 2, pp. 4-8; MGH, Einhard, *Vita*, 28, pp. 32-33; MGH, Notker, *Gesta*, 1.26, pp. 38-39; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 25, p. 358; MGH, ARF, pp. 106-113, *ad annum* 799-800. There is a full literature on the rebellion of 799, of which one could cite Mohr, *Karl der Große, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von 799*; Becher, *Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III*; Jarnut, *799 und die Folgen* and Schieffer, *Das Attentat auf Papst Leo III*.

[4] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 36-38, pp. 414-424; MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 30, p. 218; MGH, ARF, pp. 161-162, *ad annum* 823; pp. 164-166, *ad annum* 824; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, p. 59.

[5] RF II, n. 270, pp. 221-223 (829 I, Roma). On the whole episode, see Costambeys, *Power and patronage*, pp. 334-342.

[6] MGH, Epp. V, n. 28, p. 601.

2. *What constitutes the "Roman aristocracy"?*

Before we go back briefly to the previous reigns to examine this, let us look first of all at who constitutes this group, "the Roman aristocracy". Several historians have described the genesis of this elite, showing how the Late Antique senatorial class had gradually abandoned Rome in the 6th century, and had been replaced by the Byzantine *exercitus* or *militia*, the officials of the Byzantine army from all over the Greek and Eastern world who, over the seventh century, came gradually to settle in the city, and to incorporate more and more of the local fighting and defence groups[7]. While at first under the command of Greek officers and dukes, this militia gradually became increasingly involved in the political fights of the papacy with the Byzantine Empire then with the Lombards, and fought for the defence of the popes and the city in the seventh and early eighth centuries. This group found itself increasingly under the financial power of the popes, who were tasked with distributing imperial pay, but often ended up making up for its absence, and more and more paying in the form of land leases. They gained an increasing amount of land and rights from the Church, as well as becoming the new elite around the popes, gradually replacing the Byzantine rulers of the Duchy of Rome as the Eastern Empire control over it disintegrated during the first half of the eighth century. As a result, they also become the ruling elite through political and judicial power, men increasingly known as the *iudices de militia* or *optimates de militia*[8]. Often, the family groups to which they belonged was also that from which came the other non-priestly elite of the Lateran, the *iudices de clero*, such as the notaries, *defensores* and so on, a clerical elite but in minor orders, with the same lifestyle and political ambitions as the other members of the same family.

3. *The first Carolingians, the popes and the Roman elites*

After 750 and the end of the Byzantine duchy of Rome, with no Byzantine emperor left to control the city but instead gradual control of the city being devolved by the first Carolingians to the popes, the Roman political and social elites found themselves with no political master to serve and depend on, except the pope[9]. They consequently became the main component of the Lateran papal administration, as judges and the highest financial, military and

[7] Di Carpegna Falconieri, *La militia a Roma*, pp. 559-583 as well as the classic Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*. Now see also Delogu, *Roma all'inizio del Medioevo*, pp. 123-125, pp. 197-204.
[8] Marazzi, *Aristocratie et société*, pp. 89-125 and Marazzi, *I "Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae" nel Lazio*. See also Toubert, *Scrinium et palatium* and now Delogu, *Roma all'inizio del Medioevo*, pp. 209-254, pp. 307-312, pp. 347-352.
[9] Wickham, *Medieval Rome,* pp. 186-190; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, pp. 112-125, pp. 149-168.

political functionaries, the *vestararius*, the *superista* and/or *magister militum*, the *primicerius* etc. They were now the group in charge of the defence and the government of the city, controlling large properties granted to them on long emphyteutic leases by the papacy, and consequently gained considerable wealth for men like the *superista* and *magister militum*, or the *vestararius*. This group was not just united by its functions of defence, its political interests and its wealth, but also by family links, developed through multiple marriage alliances between members, including the family of the popes themselves. The Roman aristocracy's policies depended heavily on these multiple marriage alliances between its members, a style of alliance increasingly incompatible with the newly-developed Carolingian theology of Christian marriage supported by popes like Nicholas I and John VIII in the second half of the ninth century, hence provoking major clashes between the popes and this secular elite which refused to accept the new canonical rules, leading to the exiling of whole family groups, as it did under John VIII[10].

Adapting to the need to work for a new master, the pope, led to a considerable increase in the fighting for position among these elites, above all in attempting to control papal elections and to place their own candidates from the various noble factions of Rome on the see of Peter. The debacle associated with the choice of a pope who was actually a layman in 767, Constantine II, on account of his brothers' control of Rome, led Pope Stephen III in 769 to set up a ruling which ensured that the clergy alone was allowed to elect the new pope[11]. This was respected until the election of Pope Stephen IV in 816. Charlemagne had attempted to control the situation in Rome from afar, but the coup of the aristocracy against Pope Leo III (who was not one of them), when they deposed and imprisoned him in 799, showed this to have been ineffectual. Leo III was only restored through Charlemagne's direct intervention in Rome, and was followed by the banishment and, after Charlemagne's death, the execution by that pope of several of the large number of conspirators. In an attempt to regulate against such situations, and as part of his confirming the status quo between the empire and the pope, Louis the Pious in his treaty of 817, known as the *Ludovicianum*[12], had accepted that the pope could be

[10] On this vast topic, it is sufficient to cite the literature around the Lothar II and Hincmar, see Stone, West, *The divorce of King Lothar and Queen Theutberga*, and Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II*. More specifically for the Roman conflicts Betti, *Sull'uso del titolo di Senatrix*, pp. 627-660 and especially Betti, *Papa Giovanni VIII e l'aristocrazia romana*, pp. 165-174, and now also Betti, *The Social Reproduction of the Roman aristocracy*.

[11] LP, vol. 1, pp. 464-465. For the events of Pope Stephen III and Constantine's succession, see LP, vol.1, pp. 468-469; see also Hallenbeck, *Pope Stephen III: why was he elected?*, pp. 287-299. LP, vol. 1, pp. 468-476 and pp. 478-480, has the narrative about Toto and Constantine, and Christopher and Desiderius; see Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, pp. 622-660; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, pp. 155-156; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. 86-87; McKitterick, *The damnatio memoriae of Pope Constantine II (767-768)*, pp. 231-249.

[12] On the *Ludovicianum*, see ed. in MGH, Capit. I, n. 172, pp. 352-355; *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, pp. 231-233; see discussions in Hahn, *Das Hludowicianum*, and Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 299-308.

elected by the whole of the Roman people, i.e. including the Roman secular aristocracy, with the papal ruling of 769 being quietly dropped. The Romans would, however, have to obey the ruling which demanded an imperial check on the procedure of the election and its legitimacy. Stephen IV was the first pope to be thus elected in 816[13]. As a result of a serious crisis under his successor Paschal I, of which more below, Emperor Louis sent Lothar to Rome to sort out the election situation for good, which led to the promulgation of the *Constitutio Romana* in 824[14]. This new "treaty" between the empire and the pope reiterated the various clauses of the *Ludovicianum*, but it firmly forbade the taking of office by the new pope until his election had been ratified by the imperial missus. Lothar attempted to make the imperial *missus* permanent in Rome, though it may seem that he was not successful in that respect. This is shown by the fact that there was *missus* present at the time of any papal election bar one (Pope Valentine in 827), as a result of which popes like Paschal in 817 and Leo IV in 847, could offer the excuse of not having been able to submit their election to imperial scrutiny to prove its legitimacy because there was no *missus* present[15]. Popes had to wait for a *missus* to arrive, as did Gregory IV in 828[16]. In addition, the *Constitutio* also regulated the power of the dukes and officials in Rome, subject to papal authority but checked by the *missi* to ensure that they did their job well; should they not so so, they would be reported to the pope by the *missi* and, if the latter did not remedy the fault, they would then be reported to the emperor himself.

4. *Lothar's support of the Roman aristocracies: the crisis of Pope Paschal I*

What was Lothar's specific engagement with the secular aristocracies of Rome? He never attempted to place any of his men in the city, even those of his main advisors in Italy such as Lambert, Eberhard, Wala or Hugh of Tours[17]. Yet, reading between the lines of his actions, Lothar appears to have

[13] LP, vol. 2, p. 49.
[14] The *Constitutio Romana* is edited in MGH, Capit. I, n. 161, pp. 322-324. See Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 308-322. In a more general way on the issues of Louis the Pious and Lothar's government in Italy see Gantner, *A Brief Introduction*; Jarnut, *Ludwig der Fromme*; and the work of Elina Screen: Screen, *Lothar I in Italy* and Screen, *Carolingian Fathers and Sons*. More specifically too on the relations between Lothar and Louis II and the at first seamless transition in terms of their advisors, see Bougard, *La cour et le gouvernement* and Delogu, *Strutture politiche*.
[15] For Paschal see MGH, ARF, pp. 145-148, *ad annum* 817: for Leo IV see LP, vol. 2, p. 107.
[16] MGH, ARF, pp. 173-174, *ad annum* 827.
[17] On the main figures of power around Lothar in Italy in the 830s and 840s, there is a considerable literature, starting with Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen* and Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien*, esp. pp. 357-359; Depreux, *Prosopographie*; Jarnut, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 359-360; and Screen, *Lothar I in Italy*. For specific names, see also now the database of the PRIN project *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*: Languages and Agents of Power in Carolingian Italy (LAPCI) < https://carolingianitaly.it/la-banca-dati/ > [01/03/2024] and the database MedItaNunC, Medieval Italian Nuns' Corpus, of the project ITNUN: Veronica West-Harling, *Family,*

been supporting the Roman aristocracy as an alternative to the pope, or rather he offered imperial authority as an alternative to papal power. I should like to use three examples of this policy.

The first example goes back to the succession of Pope Leo III, when we are told that the numerous noblemen who had been arrested and banished to the Frankish court by Leo for their rebellion in 799, were allowed to return to Rome[18]. This occurred as a result of Pope Stephen IV's trip to Rheims to crown Louis the Pious in 816, but was confirmed by his successor Paschal in 817[19]. However, Paschal, like Leo III was another clerical pope not issued from the noble elite, and he provoked a not dissimilar reaction among the Roman aristocracy[20]. He entered into conflict with some of that elite, leading to a crisis in 823, a crisis which came about, says the *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Romae*, because «all great men of Rome supported Lothar»[21]. The date of the writing of the *Libellus* has been placed variously between the end of the ninth and the early tenth century, and therefore not contemporary with the events, and it is generally accepted that it put forward a view favourable to the imperial party (more specifically the Spoletan one), so it may include some exaggeration with regard to the general consensus, but it is unlikely to have invented the majority support, if not the unanimity. The *Liber Pontificalis*, in its usual disingenuous manner, blanks out almost completely on this episode, which, fortunately, we know in reasonable detail from the Frankish sources, notably the *Royal Frankish Annals* and the Astronomer in his biography of Louis the Pious, which both give us the "official" Frankish Court version of contemporary events[22]. They say that the Emperor Louis was told that the *primicerius* Theodore and his son-in-law the *nomenclator* Leo had been decapitated in the Lateran because «they had always been loyal to Lothar»; it was generally said that Pope Paschal had been a part of this, or that it had been done on his order or advice. The papal legates John bishop of Silva Candida and Benedict archdeacon of the Roman Church, came to Louis to offer excuses for the accusations and to bring an account of the inquiry or, say the *Royal Frankish Annals*, to exonerate the pope of the false rumour. It was said by

Power, Memory: Female Monasticism in Italy from 700 to 1100 now at < https://www.unive.it/pag/19343/ > or < https://itnun.saame.it/ > [01/07/2023]; Pazienza, West-Harling, *Networking nuns*, pp. 9-39. Specifically on Lambert and Hugh of Tours, see now Veronese, *Un franco (anzi due) in Brianza*, pp. 155-163; on Eberhard and the marquesses of Friuli, see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen*, pp. 169-172 (Eberhard) and 276-277 (Unruoch); Krahwinkler, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter*, pp. 197, 245-266, 273; Hlawitschka, *Unruochinger, fränkische Adelsfamilie*, col. 1261; Fees, *Eberardo, marchese del Friuli*; Kershaw, *Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian lay intellectual*; Schmidinger, *Eberhard, Markgraf von Friaul*; and Werner, *Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls der Grosse, Excursus I: Die Unruochingen*, pp. 133-137.

[18] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 25, p. 358.

[19] LP, vol. 2, p. 49.

[20] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, pp. 119, 124. On Paschal see Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 28-34.

[21] *Libellus de imperatoria potestate*, p. 197.

[22] MGH, ARF, pp. 161-162, *ad annum* 823; MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 37, pp. 416-420; MGH, Thegan, *Gesta*, 30, p. 218.

the Roman people, adds Thegan, the other biographer of Louis the Pious and generally known as hostile to Lothar, that the pope had ordered these killings, as well as those of another two Lateran functionaries, the *superista* Florius and Sergius. The *Royal Frankish Annals* say that the emperor, unconvinced by their account, sent his own envoys to Rome, Adelung abbot of St Vaast and Count Hunfred of Chur, to investigate the accusation which the Roman people had brought against Paschal of being the murderer of several men. In the Lateran palace, in presence of the *missi*, 34 bishops, priests and deacons, Paschal took an oath of innocence of having ordered the killings. However, the *missi* said on their return, the pope had defended with great vigour the murderers because they belonged to the *familia Sancti Petri*. Moreover, he had said that the two men killed had got their just deserts and had been justly slain because they had been guilty of *lèse-majesté*. He refused to hand over the murderers and pardoned them. The emperor, not able to pursue further a vindication of the slain, although strongly wishing to do so, decided to desist from pursuing the inquiry. But the bad feeling in Rome continued, and Thegan says that when Paschal died, the Roman people refused to have him buried at St Peter's and that they only did so when ordered by his successor Pope Eugenius.

The crisis precipitated the setting up of the *Constitutio Romana*, as Lothar was sent off to Rome by Louis to sort out the problem. Paschal died and for once, as the imperial *missus* Wala was in Rome, he confirmed the election of the first of several aristocratic popes, Eugenius III, in 824[23]. Lothar was lavishly received by Eugenius and crowned emperor. The Astronomer says that Lothar

> complained of those things which had befallen, namely, why those who had been loyal to the emperor and the Franks had been destroyed with unjust and violent death; why those who had survived had been held a laughing-stock to the rest; and how such serious charges were cried out against the Roman pontiffs and judges.

He continued saying that «it was discovered that the estates of many had been unjustly confiscated, either by the ignorance or idleness of certain pontiffs, and also by the blind and rapacious greed of the judges»[24]. Even more damning is the account of the *Royal Frankish Annals*: Louis sent Lothar to Rome so that he would make in his stead binding decisions with the new pope and the Roman people on whatever the occasion demanded. Lothar ordered the affairs of the Roman people, which «for a long time had been confused due to the wickedness of several popes». As a result of his intervention «all who had been injured by the loss of their fortune were marvelously consoled by the return of their possessions», brought about by Lothar's appearance on the scene[25]. Therefore, and this is again the Astronomer, by restoring what things had been wrongfully taken away, Lothar caused great joy for the Roman peo-

[23] MGH, Astronomus, *Vita*, 38, pp. 422-424.
[24] *Ibidem*.
[25] MGH, ARF, pp. 164-166, *ad annum* 824.

ple. To summarise: Lothar's interaction with the Roman aristocracy involved the solving of a crisis which had seen the latter attacked and deprived of its possessions by Pope Paschal I, with the return by Lothar of these possessions to them. This could be seen as, first of all, the successful application of the *Constitutio Romana*, whereby the Romans were to be loyal to the pope in the first instance, but if unhappy with his judgment, they would be allowed to appeal to the emperor for justice – in this case the unjustified condemnation of those who had been loyal to the emperor and the confiscation of lands belonging to them. Secondly, the Frankish perception was that the emperor was able and willing to intervene to support those who, in Rome, were loyal to him – and these, we gather, were fairly numerous.

To take a slight deviation, I should like to suggest that this is also what the court case brought by the abbey of Farfa – though outside the city itself but with property and influence in it – suggests. This related to Lothar's intervention in his judgment in favour of the abbey of Farfa and against the Church of Rome in 829[26]. In 817 Pope Stephen IV had confirmed the properties of the abbey of Farfa in the Sabina to Abbot Ingoald, but had imposed an annual payment of 10 gold solidi because he claimed that according to Roman law, these were part of the papal patrimony in Sabina; Paschal I confirmed the diploma[27]. But in 829, Ingoald claimed that the payment was not justified because, according to Lombard law, the lands had been granted to Farfa in full property by Anselperga daughter of King Desiderius and abbess of San Salvatore of Brescia, and that the properties had, in addition, been confirmed as benefitting from the imperial immunity of Farfa by Charlemagne and by Louis[28]. Pope Gregory IV did not accept the ruling and a *placitum* was set up in the Lateran for Louis' *missi*, Bishop Joseph and Count Leo, in the presence of various officials including Frankish *vassi imperiales* and Lombard *gastaldi*, to deal with the case. Article 5 of the *Constitutio Romana*, which allowed the people of Rome to choose which law they wanted to live under, Roman, Frankish or Lombard, granted them access to the appropriate courts. Lothar came to Rome in 829 and heard Ingoald's appeal, which had said that the pope had taken away the freedom of the abbey («ablata pristina libertate») and requested a tribute and pension, and had removed «multas possessions (...) violenter ablatas». This was unacceptable on the basis of the «antiqua langobardorum regum praecepta», and the imperial immunity[29]. In 829-830 the two emperors Louis the Pious and Lothar confirmed the privileges of the Lombard kings and of the emperors Charlemagne and Louis, and in 840 Lothar would grant a privilege in which he once again confirmed to Farfa the full possession of its properties and the full imperial immunity[30]. The case of Farfa may seem to

[26] RF II, n. 270, pp. 221-223 (829 I, Roma) and see note 5 above.
[27] RF II, n. 225, pp. 186-187 (817 II 1).
[28] RF II, n. 272, pp. 224-225 (829-830).
[29] RF II, n. 272, pp. 224-225 (829-830).
[30] RF II, n. 272, pp. 224-225 (829-830); n. 282bis, pp. 233-238 (840 XII 15, *Cadiniaco villa*).

have taken me away from my specified purpose of dealing exclusively with the city of Rome: one may speculate that such a debate over the choice of legal system would apply largely to the inhabitants of the papal territory rather than to those of the city of Rome itself. There were certainly some Lombards in the city, though, as we saw, no Franks other than the pilgrims – but there were far more candidates for claiming Lombard or Frankish legal rights in such areas as the Sabina (Roman as well as Lombard Tuscia). But it shows at least how the *Constitutio Romana* was applied in practice – at least in the presence of the emperor or his *missi* – and the ruling would be used again to support the claims of Farfa at a later date, in another conflict, which once again relied on Farfa's right to be subject to Lombard and not Roman law.

5. *Lothar's support of the Roman aristocracies: Pope Sergius II and Benedict*

My second example involving Lothar's links with the Roman aristocracy is the much-debated issue of Pope Sergius II's brother Benedict. Sergius became pope in 844, after another tumultuous election[31]. Once again there was no *missus* present in Rome and, once again Lothar was furious that the ruling of the *Constitutio Romana* had not been followed. In this instance, both the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Annals of St Bertin,* contemporary with the events and the latter written at this point further away from the direct entourage of Louis the Pious, tell us that he was indeed furious enough to send his son Louis himself to Rome, together with Archbishop Drogo of Metz as a *missus*[32]. They were received by the pope on 8 June 844, but although the latter proclaimed the legitimacy of the election, Louis and Drogo convoked a synod which met between 10 and 15 June to confirm this by having a new election – even as Louis's army was stationed at the gates of Rome and doing what a medieval army did best, namely wreaking havoc on the citizenry. The synod reelected Sergius, who anointed and crowned Louis as King of the Lombards, and finally he and his army left Rome for Pavia, to the great relief of its inhabitants, claims the *Liber Pontificalis*[33].

It is the next part of the story which needs telling, however. Sergius, for a variety of reasons which could be hidden under the umbrella of ill-health, came to be increasingly erratic in his behaviour, to the extent that the actual government was taken over, on his own decision, by his brother Benedict in 846. The *Liber Pontificalis*, who hated Benedict with a passion, and accused him of every crime from wanton destruction of church property to simony,

[31] LP, vol. 2, pp. 86-87; MGH, AB, p. 30, *ad annum* 844.
[32] Gantner, *A King in Training?*; Gantner, *Louis II and Rome*; Gantner, *The Saracen Attack on Rome*. I am very grateful to Clemens Gantner for allowing me to read the last two papers in pre-publication pdfs.
[33] LP, vol. 2, pp. 87-91.

called it a power grab, while Benedict defined it himself as exercising the «primacy and lordship at Rome» or even exercising the «monarchy at Rome»[34]. There are several possible interpretations of this, the most commonly favoured being that Benedict may have been, in reality, the "permanent *missus*", with his power being delegated to him by the Emperor Lothar. Did Lothar make Benedict an imperial deputy? Benedict's actions, to a certain extent, could be seen as justifying this assumption. For example, he was said to have taken away the property of various churches «with imperial permission and instruction». The result was that «in three years there remained no monastery in Rome or outside it which had not lost its property». He was accused of simony, having "sold" bishoprics, in one case for as much as 2000 mancuses, and the *Liber Pontificalis* said that «no church incumbency was granted by the brothers except at a price». Now we know that, while this was happening, as soon as Benedict took over, papal legates were sent to Guy of Spoleto asking for his help in fighting the Saracen attacks on Rome, which Benedict of Soracte tells us[35]. By 846-847 Rome was being regularly attacked, and attempts were made to create some kind of defence, partly as a response to the information passed on by Marquess Adalbert of Tuscany, who informed the pope about the enemy's movements, and partly as a response to the easy taking of Ostia and Porto by the Saracen armies. It may well be that Benedict, whether as some kind of imperial legate or indeed as a representative of the military aristocratic elite of the city, was attempting to raise money, not for himself but for the defence of the city, including by using church property and funds. If so, he may have been doing what he thought was the emperor's will, and representing the kind of secular aristocratic government that Lothar seems to have encouraged in the city. The *Liber Pontificalis*' hostility towards Sergius, and especially towards his brother, clearly one of the great aristocrats, was fuelled by Benedict's claim to rule over Rome on the grounds of having such power given to him by the Franks and the emperor. Benedict seems to have attempted to set up a form of secular power in the city, building and rebuilding walls and other buildings, in the process taking away the properties of various churches «with imperial permission and instruction», and selling ecclesiastical offices. Was Benedict an imperial deputy, dealing with an ad hoc difficult situation on account of the pope's incapacity, or was he a proto-Theophylact, who made a first attempt at setting up a secular government in Rome? It may be no coincidence that, dealing with the increasingly serious Saracen attacks on the city, both the military aristocracy and the other inhabitants may have felt that an incapacitated pope was not the best person to lead its defence – hence the interest in a man who was building walls and defensive structures.

Supporting such a view may be the other famous example of Lothar's interaction, this time with Sergius II's successor Leo IV. In 847, the emperor

[34] LP, vol. 2, pp. 97-99.
[35] *Chronicon di Benedetto*, pp. 150-151.

ordered the pope to begin building a wall around St Peter's[36]. The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that the pope asked Lothar, his spiritual son, for help to do so, upon which the emperor sent money for that purpose. The gates were inscribed with Leo's name as the author of the work «in the time of the glorious emperor Lothar», but we know from the Capitulary of Lothar of 847 that it was in fact the emperor who had ordered the building of the wall, even while Sergius II was still alive, though this was not begun until 848. Thus the *Liber Pontificalis*' spin on the story, making the pope the instigator of the defence and Lothar his financial backer as a dutiful son, is flatly contradicted by the actual documented capitulary which orders the pope to build the wall, not the other way round. Even if one agrees, in the end, that it was a collaborative decision, this shows, once again, that the *Liber Pontificalis* was always putting forward the papal initiative, not the imperial one – which may well have been what Benedict was, in fact, already doing, before Leo IV. One more indication of the Lothar's support of the secular "government" in Rome.

These examples, the only ones we have, would appear to show that the relationship between Lothar and the aristocratic elite of Rome was a good one – confirming perhaps the *Libellus*' view that they were loyal to the emperor, even into the upper echelons of the papal administration. Such a view may need to be nuanced through the final case study that I should like to propose.

6. *Lothar's supporters and spies: the affair of the two* superista

Just like with Paschal I's men who accused Theodore and Leo of colluding with the Franks, we have a second case dealing with the issue of alleged disloyalty to the pope in the affair of two high-ranking military officers under Leo IV, Gratian and Daniel. According to the *magister militum* Daniel, the *magister militum* and «outstanding *superista* and counsellor» Gratian was saying things showing him to be disloyal to the Franks, notably that the Romans should call on the Greeks, make peace with them and expel the Franks from Rome. A worried emperor (Louis now, after the death of Lothar that year) went to Rome and called together a synod of all the Roman dignitaries and noble Franks. Daniel accused Gratian of treason, Gratian refuted the accusation and, perceiving it to have been «made by envy», claims the *Liber Pontificalis*, the «clement emperor», while appearing to give way and have Daniel «given to Gratian» to be tried «according to Roman law as had been laid down by the emperors of old» (presumably meaning according to the Roman law of defamation), in reality asked Gratian «with humble supplication» to give him back Daniel, whom he then pardoned[37]. Behind the emperor's

[36] LP, vol. 2, pp. 115; 123-125; 135. Lothar's capitulary in Capit. it., n. 33 (203), cap. 7, p. 153. On this discussion see West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, pp. 419-420 and Gantner, *The Saracen attack on Rome*; and more generally for Leo IV, Herbers, *Papst Leo IV.*

[37] LP, vol. 2, p. 134; West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice*, p. 165.

humble request to Gratian, there is no doubt that we can hear a disguised order, which is a way of allowing the emperor to pardon Daniel, his own spy, whom he clearly needed because he did not trust Leo IV and other members of the Lateran government, and because he wanted to ensure than anyone who heard other rumours would not be afraid of whistleblowing.

7. *Conclusions*

In conclusion, I would propose that the interaction between Lothar and the Roman secular aristocracy was, broadly speaking, one of support for their mutual benefit, and that Lothar, whenever possible, took the side of these elites against the pope. As the *Libellus* claims: «according to custom power was greater (under Lothar, who), having strong men from the city itself, with knowledge of ancient imperial law, suggesting to Caesar and intimating to him that he should restore the ancient rule of the emperors». Very prudently, he never tried to impose his men directly in the city, unless we can call Benedict an imperial deputy of sorts, and unless we discount his spies like Daniel. From Lothar's point of view, Rome's allegiance was essential since he was the emperor, and his main means of controlling it was through the papal elections, for which he attempted to enforce the *missi*'s approval. From the point of view of the Romans, they had taken an oath of loyalty to the emperor – and indeed it was the emperor to whom they submitted. This can be understood from their refusal to swear such an oath to his son Louis, who was only King of the Lombards until his imperial coronation in 850[38]. Giving allegiance to the emperor – and that above the pope, who saw himself as the ruler of Rome – was acceptable for the aristocratic elite, indeed it became a way of attempting to reinforce their own power in the city, other than the by now common cursus honorum in the papal administration. This was to lead to the effective rule by Theophylact from the 900s, as soon as both papal and Carolingian power were seriously on the wane, and the Roman nobility could once again try to bring about a secular government.

[38] MGH, AB, p. 38, *ad annum* 850 – but, significantly, the imperial coronation is not mentioned in the LP, vol. 2, p. 90.

Works cited

After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its Rulers, ed. W. Pohl, C. Gantner, Cambridge 2021.
L. Albiero, *"Secundum romanam consuetudienem": la riforma liturgica in epoca carolingia*, in *Il Secolo di Carlo Magno. Istituzioni, letterature e cultura del tempo carolingio*, ed. I. Pagani, F. Santi, Firenze 2016 (mediEVI, 11), pp. 151-176.
The Annals of St-Bertin, ed. and transl. J.L. Nelson, Manchester 1991 (Ninth-century histories, 1).
A. Ballardini, *Scultura per l'arredo liturgico nella Roma di Pasquale I: tra modelli paleocristiani e Flechtwerk*, in *Medioevo: arte e storia*. Atti del X convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 18-22 settembre 2007, ed. A.C. Quintavalle, Milano-Parma 2008, pp. 225-246.
L. Barelli, *I quadriportici nell'architettura religiosa della Roma carolingia (secoli VIII e IX)*, in «Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura», n.s., 55-56 (2010-2011), pp. 71-81.
L. Barelli, *Architettura e tecnica costruttiva a Roma nell'altomedioevo,* Roma 2018.
P. Barresi, P. Pensabene, *La "rinascita carolingia" del IX secolo: reimpiego, architettura, progettazione*, in *La cristianizzazione in Italia tra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo*. Atti del IX Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Crisitiana, Agrigento, 20-25 novembre 2004, ed. R.M. Bonacasa Carra, E. Vitale, Palermo 2007, pp. 381-439.
M. Becher, *Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. Die Ereignisse der Jahre 799 und 800 aus der Sicht der Zeitgenossen*, in *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, vol. 3*, Beitrage zum Katalog der Ausstellung*, ed. C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff, Mainz 1999, pp. 22-36.
O. Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi*, Bologna 1941 (Storia di Roma, 9).
M. Betti, *Sull'uso del titolo di* Senatrix. *Strategie di definizione e di rappresentazione di una parentela a Roma nel X secolo*, in «Nuova Rivista Storica», 104 (2020), 2, pp. 627-660.
M. Betti, *Papa Giovanni VIII e l'aristocrazia romana. La fuga dei "Tarquini" (aprile 876)*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Francesco, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020, pp. 165-174.
M. Betti, *The Social Reproduction of the Roman Aristocracy in the 9th and 10th centuries. Liutprand of Cremona and the Women of the Pope*, in *The 10th Century in Western Europe. Change and Continuity*, ed. I. Santos Salazar, C. Tente, Oxford 2023, pp. 90-98.
F. Bougard, *La cour et le gouvernement de Louis II, 840-875*, in *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne. Du début du IXe siècle aux environs de 920*, ed. R. Le Jan, Villeneuve d'Ascq 1998 (Histoire et littérature du Septentrion, 17), pp. 249-267.
T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800*, Rome 1984.
P. Carmassi, *La liturgia romana tra il V e il IX secolo*, in *Roma dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, ed. M.S. Arena, P. Delogu, L. Paroli, Roma 2001, pp. 144-153.
Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories, ed. and transl. B. Rogers, Ann Arbor Michigan 1972.
Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer, ed. and transl. T.F.X. Noble, University Park, PA 2009.
M. Costambeys, *Power and patronage in Early Medieval Italy. Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa c. 700-900*, Cambridge 2007.
P. Delogu, *Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Ludovico II*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 80 (1968), pp. 137-189.
P. Delogu, *Roma all'inizio del Medioevo. Storie, luoghi, persone (secoli VII-IX)*, Roma 2022.
P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, Sigmaringen 1997.
T. di Carpegna Falconieri, *La militia a Roma: il formarsi di una nuova aristocrazia (secoli VII-VIII)*, in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, ed. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent, Rome 2012, pp. 559-583.
V.H. Ebern, *Werke liturgischer Goldschmiedekunst in karolingischer Zeit*, in *Culto cristiano e politica imperiale carolingia*, Todi 1979, pp. 303-336.
Einhard and Notker, Two Lives of Charlemagne, ed. and transl. D. Ganz, Harmondsworth 2008.
G. Fasoli, *Adalberto di Toscana*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 1, Roma 1960, pp. 219-221.

I. Fees, *Eberardo, marchese del Friuli*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 42, Roma 1993, pp. 252-255.
C. Gantner, *Louis II and Rome: on the relationship of the Carolingian emperor of Italy with "his" popes Nicholas I and Hadrian II*, in *Through the Papal Lens: Shaping History and Memory in Late Antique and Early Medieval Rome, 300-900*, ed. M. Humphries, G. Vocino (forthcoming).
C. Gantner, *The Saracen attack on Rome in 846 and its impact on the Italian Carolingian Empire*, in *Social Cohesion and its Limits*, ed. W. Pohl, A. Fischer (forthcoming).
C. Gantner, *A Brief Introduction to Italian Political History until 875*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, ed. W. Pohl, C. Gantner, Cambridge 2021, pp. 5-18.
C. Gantner, *A King in Training? Louis II of Italy and His Expedition to Rome in 844*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, ed. W. Pohl, C. Gantner, Cambridge 2021, pp. 164-181.
C. Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824*, Cambridge 2010.
P.M. Gy, *L'unification liturgique de l'Occident et la liturgie de la curie romaine*, in «Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques», 59 (1975), pp. 601-612.
A. Hahn, *Das Hludowicianum*, in «Archiv fur Diplomatik», 21 (1975), pp. 15-135.
J.T. Hallenbeck, *Pope Stephen III: why was he elected?*, in «Archivum Historiae Pontificiae», 12 (1974), pp. 287-299.
Y. Hen, *The royal patronage of liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Woodbridge 2001.
Y. Hen, *The Romanization of the Frankish liturgy: ideal, reality and the rhetoric of reform*, in *Rome across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500-1400*, ed. R. McKitterick, J. Osborne, C. Bolgia, Cambridge 2011, pp. 111-123.
Y. Hen, *Die karolingische Liturgie und Rom*, in *Karl der Große, Charlemagne. Orte der Macht*, ed. F. Pohle, Dresden 2014, pp. 338-345.
Y. Hen, *When Liturgy Gets Out of Hand*, in *Writing the Early Medieval West. Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, ed. E. Screen, C. West, Cambridge 2018, pp. 203-213.
K. Herbers, *Papst Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit*, Stuttgart 2017.
K.J. Heidecker, *The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World*, Ithaca NY 2020 (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past).
E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1960 (Forschungen zur Oberrheinische Landesgeschichte, 8).
E. Hlawitschka, *Unruochinger, fränkische Adelsfamilie*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8, München 1997, col. 1261.
J. Jarnut, *Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I. und das* Regnum Italiae, in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, pp. 349-362; reprinted in *Jörg Jarnut, Herrschaft und Ethnogenese im Frühmittelalter: gesammelte Aufsätze von Jörg Jarnut. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Becher, Münster 2002, pp. 341-354.
J. Jarnut, *799 und die Folgen*, in «Westfälische Zeitschrift», 150 (2000), pp. 191-209.
P.J.E. Kershaw, *Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian lay intellectual*, in *Lay intellectuals in the Carolingian world*, ed. P.C. Wormald, J. Nelson, Cambridge 2007, pp. 77-105.
H. Krahwinkler, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter. Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1992 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 30).
R. Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton 2000[3].
The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber pontificalis). The ancient biographies of nine popes from AD 715 to AD 817, ed. and transl. R. Davis, Liverpool 1992 (Translated Texts for Historians, 13).
The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The ancient biographies of ten popes from A. D. 817-891, ed. and transl. R. Davis, Liverpool 1995 (Translated Texts for Historians, 20).
R. McKitterick, *Unity and diversity in the Carolingian Church*, in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson, Oxford 1996, pp. 59-82.
R. McKitterick, *The* Damnatio Memoriae *of Pope Constantine II (767-768)*, in *Italy and Medieval Europe*, ed. R. Balzaretti, P. Skinner, Oxford 2018, pp. 231-249.

R. McKitterick, *The Liturgical Past and Papal History*, in *Rome and the invention of the papacy: the Liber pontificalis*, ed. R. McKitterick, Cambridge 2020, pp. 157-170.
F. Marazzi, *Aristocratie et société (VI^e^-IX^e^ siècles)*, in *Rome au Moyen Âge*, ed. A. Vauchez, Paris 2010, pp. 89-125.
F. Marazzi, *I "Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae" nel Lazio (secoli IV-X). Strutture amministrative e prassi gestionale (dal IV agli inizi del X secolo)*, Roma 1998 (Nuovi studi storici, 37).
W. Mohr, *Karl der Große, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von 799*, in «Archivum latinitatis medii aevi», 30 (1960), pp. 39-98.
T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825*, Philadelphia 1984.
V. Pace, *La "felix culpa" di Richard Krautheimer: Roma, Santa Prassede e la "Rinascenza carolingia"*, in Ecclesiae Urbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV-X secolo), vol. 2, ed. F. Guidobaldi, G. Guiglia Guidobaldi, Città del Vaticano 2002, pp. 65-75.
A. Pazienza, V. West-Harling, *Networking nuns: imperial power and family alliances at S. Salvatore di Brescia (c. 837-861)*, in «Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies», 10 (2021), pp. 9-39.
P. Predatsch, *Migration im karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, sozialverhältnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin 2021 (Europa im Mittelalter, 38).
E. Screen, *Lothar I in Italy, 834-40: charters and authority*, in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, ed. J. Jarrett, A. Scott McKinley, Turnhout 2013 (International Medieval Research, 19), pp. 231-252.
E. Screen, *Carolingian Fathers and Sons in Italy Lothar I and Louis II's Successful Partnership*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its Rulers*, ed. W. Pohl, C. Gantner, Cambridge 2021, pp. 149-163.
R. Schieffer, *Das Attentat auf Papst Leo III*, in *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung. Das Epos "Karolus Magnus et Leo papa" und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, ed. P. Godman, J. Jarnut, P. Johanek, Berlin 2001, pp. 75-85.
H. Schmidinger, *Eberhard, Markgraf von Friaul*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, München 1986, col. 1513.
R. Stone, C. West, *The divorce of King Lothar and Queen Theutberga. Hincmar of Rheims's* De Divortio, Manchester 2016.
P. Toubert, Scrinium et palatium*: la formation de la bureaucratie romano-pontificale aux VII^e^-IX^e^ siècles*, in *Roma nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 2001 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 48), pp. 57-119.
F. Veronese, *Un franco (anzi due) in Brianza. Gli ultimi anni di Ugo di Tours e sua moglie Ava (834-39)*, in *I Longobardi a Venezia. Scritti per Stefano Gasparri*, ed. I. Barbiera, F. Borri, A. Pazienza, Turnhout 2020, pp. 155-163.
C. Vogel, *Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne*, in *Le Chiese nei Regni dell'Europa Occidentale*, Spoleto 1960 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 7), pp. 185-295.
C. Vogel, *Les motifs de la romanisation du culte sous Pépin le Bref (751-68) et Charlemagne (774-814)*, in *Culto cristiano e politica imperiale carolingia*. Atti del XVIII Convegno di studi sul tema, ed. O. Capitani, Todi 1979, pp. 15-41.
C. Vogel, *La reforme cultuelle sous Pépin le Bref et sous Charlemagne*, in *Die Karolingische Renaissance*, ed. E. Patzelt, Graz 1965, pp. 172-272.
K.-F. Werner, *Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karl der Grosse*, in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1, *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte,* ed. H. Beumann, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 83-142.
V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine Heritage, the Imperial Present and the Construction of City Identity*, Oxford 2021.
C. Wickham, *Medieval Rome. Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150*, Oxford 2015.

Veronica West-Harling
University of Oxford (UK)
veronica.west-harling@history.ox.ac.uk
0000-0002-0941-300X

Who wrote the life of Leo IV? Gratian, the *superista*, and his network

by Maddalena Betti

The life of Leo IV included in the *Liber pontificalis* is a valuable text for reflecting on the Roman aristocracy during the years of the Emperors Lothar I and Louis II. It contains numerous episodes in which Roman *proceres* appear alongside the pontiff or are depicted as the main protagonists of the events. In this paper, I have analysed the possible targets of these representations by highlighting the "aristocratic" involvement in the process of writing papal biographies. The study led to a consideration of the role played by the *superista* Gratian as the focus of the network constituted by elite papal officials. Hence, it provides evidence on the relations maintained by Gratian's elite with emperors and pontiffs; the ways in which the elite was formed, and the strategies deployed to ensure its social pre-eminence in spite the succession of pontiffs.

Middle Ages; ninth century; *Liber pontificalis*; Pope Leo IV; Pope Benedict III; Roman aristocracy; Gratian *superista*.

Maddalena Betti, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy, maddalena.betti@unive.it, 0000-0003-3666-598X

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Maddalena Betti, *Who wrote the life of Leo IV? Gratian, the* superista*, and his network*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.15, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 257-272, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations

MGH, AB = *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1883 (MGH, SS rer. Germ., 5).

LP = *Liber Pontificalis, Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vol., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1886-1892.

MGH, Epp. V = *Epistolarum Tomus V*, ed. E. Dümmler et al., Berlin 1899 (MGH, Epistolae Karolini aevi, 3).

MGH, Conc. III = *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1984 (MGH, Conc., 3).

RI I, 4, 2, 1 = J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918 (926-962)*, Band 4: *Papstregesten*, *800-911*, Tl. 2: *844-872*, Lfg. 1: *844-858*, ed. K. Herbers, Köln-Weimar-Wien, Böhlau 1999.

1. *Preliminary notes on the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855)*

The biography of Leo IV[1] included in the *Liber pontificalis* conveys the idea of a pontiff who revived the authority of the Roman Church by playing the role assigned by biographers to the papal office[2]. Furthermore, in several passages, the biographers see a connection between the pontificate of Leo IV and that of Leo III, considered as a high moment of the pontifical institution, maybe because of the relationship that the pontiff is supposed to have established with Charlemagne (in complete disagreement – this choice – with part of Charlemagne' advisers who expressed veiled concerns about the figure of Leo III)[3]. Therefore, they explicitly relate the pontificate of Leo IV to that of Leo III, alluding to a dark parenthesis, dominated by popes who were unable to guarantee the security of the city and its territory, and who prepared the ground for the desecration of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles by the Saracens (846)[4]. Whereas, in the life of Leo IV, it is the pope himself who, in the same way as a Roman emperor, displays practices which are typical of late Roman imperial practices (he is alleged to have distributed money to the people and luxury gifts to the *proceres*), with the aim of restoring the Aurelian walls, building a new fortified centre near Civitavecchia (Leopolis), establishing a community of Corsicans in the centre of Portus and, above all, taking the initiative to fortify the Vatican (Lothar and his brothers are in the background, as backers and not creators of the Civitas Leoniana)[5]. Within the context of this last monumental undertaking, an allusion is made to Leo III's plan to fortify the site of the basilica, which was left to decay, and to the foundations already erected, which were dismantled by unidentified men[6].

[1] On the pontificate of Leo IV, Marazzi, *Leone IV* and the Herbers monograph, *Leo IV.*

[2] Edition in LP, vol. 2, pp. 106-134. On the Life of Leo IV in the *Liber pontificalis*, Herbers, *Leo IV.*, pp. 18-48.

[3] The bad reputation of Leo IV emerges, for instance in the personal correspondence between Alcuin and Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, Costambeys, *Alcuin, Rome*, pp. 268-271. On the ambiguities of the relationship between Charlemagne and Leo III, see Schieffer, *Charlemagne and Rome* and Becher, *Die Reise Papst Leos III.*

[4] On this subject see Betti, *The Two Versions of the Life of Pope Sergius II*, p. 191.

[5] On the foundations of Leo IV, see Marazzi, *Le «città nuove»*, pp. 257, 261-262, 266-268.

[6] LP, vol. 2, p. 123.

This represents – as I believe – a firm denunciation on the part of the biographers of Leo IV against the opponents of Leo III, which is a prelude to the revival of the memory of Leo III in Rome[7].

The ability to revitalise the papal institution during the years of Leo IV's rule, so well highlighted in the life, is reflected in the massive number of papal letters preserved. In the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 48 letters of Leo IV (the vast majority partial)[8] are edited by Adolf von Hirsch-Gereuth (1899), extrapolated from the *Collectio Britannica*. The number of letters of Leo IV cannot be compared to the preserved letters of Nicholas I, Adrian II or John VIII. However, it is significant, considering that only three letters of Sergius II, his predecessor, have been preserved and no more than one of Benedict III, his successor. Moreover, the group of Leo IV's recipients is varied and extended (besides Hincmar of Rheims, it includes the *iudices* of Sardinia, Lothar, Charles the Bald, Patriarch Ignatius among others). The epistolary correspondence of Leo IV shows, therefore,an elevated perception of how the papal institution was capable, or supposed to be capable, of intervening in the most different contexts[9]. In addition, there is another relevant element: fragments of Leo IV's letters have also come down to us with statements of principle recognised by posterity as foundational. Many of these fragments originate from the *Collectio Britannica*, the primary repository of Leo IV's correspondence, to be included in both *Collectio Tripartita,* written by Ivo of Chartres, and the *Decretum Gratiani*[10]. This further demonstrates the unrest running through Leo IV's pontificate: the definition of new principles, the revival of ideas that had already been formulated, but now proposed in papal decrees for the benefit of a renewed and more competitive representation of the papal institution.

2. *The life of Leo IV: a cumbersome first-person narration*

Let us now return to the life of Leo IV. It is set apart from the lives of his immediate predecessors by the choice of his biographers to introduce brief historical-hagiographical narratives of the pontiff's actions interspersed with the list of his gifts, especially those benefitting St. Peter's, as a compensation for the damage suffered suring its sacking by the Saracens in 846, and

[7] About the possibility that Leo III started fortifying the same area, Gibson, Ward Perkins, *The surviving remains of the Leonine wall*, p. 33. The work of Leo III would have been destroyed because it was seen with suspicion by the Roman aristocrats: erected before the Saracen sacking, it would have appeared as an attempt to erect a personal fortress. After all, Leo III's residence was located close to St. Peter's basilica (see Meneghini, Santangeli Valenzani, *Rome*, p. 221). Similarly, the choice of the couple Marozia-Hugh of Provence to reside in Castel S. Angelo, the most fortified place in Rome, was perceived as "tyrannical" (according to Santangeli Valenzani, *Topografia*, p. 141).

[8] Edition in MGH, Epp. V, pp. 585-612.

[9] On Leo IV's letters see Jaspers-Fuhrmann, *Papal letters*, pp. 108-110.

[10] On the tradition of Leo IV fragments circulating in canonical collections after the *Collectio Britannica*, Herbers, *Leo IV.*, pp. 493-494.

accounts of building interventions and embellishments in favour of the Roman churches. Leaving aside the account of the neutralisation of the dragon that sowed death in Rome or the miraculous extinguishing of the fire near the Petrine Basilica[11], we read about the restoration of the Aurelian walls, a second Saracen expedition stopped in front of Ostia, the construction and dedication of the defensive walls of the Civitas Leoniana, the settlement of a colony of Corsican refugees in Portus, the restoration of the walls of Orte and Amelia, the foundation of Leopolis near Civitavecchia, the Roman Council of December 853, the deposition of the priest Anastasius, and finally the trial of the *superista* Gratian in Rome, in the presence of the emperor[12].

The analysis of these passages drove me to consider the massive presence of the first-person in the narration. I noticed, in fact, a difference between the lives of the preceding popes, where a third-person singular narrative prevails, and the life of Leo IV, in which most narrative sections are often structured in the first-person plural. It is, therefore, the biographers (or the biographer) who introduce in the first-person what they are going to talk about, who explain the reasons for choosing to include a particular narrative, who propose the interpretation of the events narrated, and who repeatedly take the opportunity to laud the pontiff. I think this means definitely something more than the rare use of the first-person plural in other lives, used by editors to vary and order the narrative or to inform the reader that a church or a character has already been mentioned (a stylistic technique then, responding to purely narrative contingencies). In the life of Leo IV, on the other hand, the first-person narration seems to participate in the events and thus in the action of the pontiff. This impression is reinforced by the indication, repeated on several occasions, that at the time of the narration the pontiff is still alive. The first-person narrator thus rises to the dignity of a new protagonist in the life of a pope: there are not only the pontiff, the various social components of the city, the sovereigns, princes, emperors, and on occasion God, but there are also the biographers of the life.

I will focus here on the most interesting, as well as the problematic, case of intervention in the narration of the first-person narrator (through the use of the first-person plural). This case is in fact helpful for reflecting on the identity of the group behind the biographers, and more broadly on the Roman aristocracy. This is the section in which the biographers depict the so-called Battle of Ostia, a controversial event because it is not confirmed by other sources, which is said to have taken place during the twelfth indiction of the pontificate (i.e. between 848 and 849), after a further Saracen incursion. This passage had great fortune because it was precisely the battle of Ostia that was regarded as the climax of Leo IV's pontificate. In the 10th century, Flodoard of

[11] On the hagiographical episodes in the life of Leo IV, see Herbers, *Le Liber pontificalis*, pp. 91-93.
[12] These are just a selection of episodes. The most remarkable omission is the one concerning the coronation of Louis II in 850, in Rome, known from Frankish sources.

Rheims proposed a very emphatic poetic metaphrase of the event in the life of Leo IV in his *De triumphis Christi*[13]. It was later to be the subject of a triumphant iconographic representation in Raphael Sanzio's fresco in the Vatican Rooms *The Fire in the Borgo*, dated 1514, indicating one of the high moments in the history of the papacy.

In the life of Leo IV, the narrative in question is preceded by a passage in the first-person plural in which the editors intervene to explain the appropriateness of including the miraculous events that took place during the twelfth indiction[14]: a Saracen fleet arrives in front of the port of Rome (Ostia) and then God intervenes, inducing the Neapolitans, the Amalfitans, the Gaetans and the Romans to rush to Ostia against the common enemy. The pontiff comes on the scene and asks for assurances – receiving them – of the good intentions of the participants; then the pontiff celebrates a mass in Ostia in which he says an auspicious prayer, reported in the text; later he returns to Rome; the naval battle breaks out, but suddenly the wind picks up and disrupts the Saracen fleet. At this point, the narrative is paused and the first-person plural enters again to comment on the sudden rising of the wind as a miraculous event. Paraphrasing the words of the biographers, they are convinced that God wanted to show himself: he allowed the Saracens to get close to their objective and then swept them away through the intercession of Peter and Paul[15]. The account goes on to report that many surviving Saracens were killed – again – by «our men» (*a nostris hominibus*), and that others were led in chains to Rome. The fate of the Saracens brought to Rome is the most controversial passage. We first read that the Roman dignitaries (the Roman *proceres*) ordered (*iusserunt*) that many of them be hanged in Ostia; then the first-person plural breaks in again, clearly distinguishing itself from the *proceres*. Paraphrasing again, we read that «we have ordained some to be spared so that they might know our great faith in God and his mercy; and to prevent them from living idly among us, we ordered them to be led as labourers to the building site of St Peter's wall, which we have begun, or to other building sites»[16]. The passage ends with a short line, still in the first-person

[13] Flodoardus Remensis, *De triumphis Christi*, col. 817.

[14] LP, vol. 2, p. 117: «Ea igitur quae inter cetera per sanctissimi praesulis assiduas preces ac lacrimas, Domino auxiliante, duodecima siquidem insistente indictione mirabiliter acta vel gesta sunt, non inutiliter agimus si ob aeternam memoriam huic operi luce clarius inserere studemus, ut quantae sanctitatis in hac erumnosa vita viri iste extitit praesentes atque futuri facilius agnoscant».

[15] LP, vol. 2, pp. 118-119: «Deus enim omnipotens, pro certo credimus, hunc ex tesauro suo produxerat ventum, qui eos ad nocendum minime permittebat exire. Super his novis misticisque miraculis quae nostris, licet non meritis divina ostendere demonstrare nostris est dignata temporibus, semper glorificanda et conlaudanda est veri Dei nostri clementia, qui eos et locum quem desiderabant permisit aspicere, et tamen, ne capere potuissent, virtutis suae potentia longius expulit, multosque postea, non tantum per intercessionem et merita beatissimorum Petri ac Pauli principum apostolorum maris profunditas, verum etiam famis et gladius indesinenter extincxit».

[16] LP, vol. 2, p. 119: «Quorum Romani proceres, ne multiplicatus numerus videretur, multos prope Portum nostrum Romanum in ligno suspendi iusserunt; aliquantos etenim nos ferro constricti vivere iussimus, pro hac solummodo causam ut et spem nostram, quam in Deum habe-

plural, clarifying the decision to employ the captive Saracens as labourers for major works: due to these benefits – as narrated – they were spared («pro his ideo beneficiis, ut iam enarratum est, eos fecimus reservare»).

Why does the last passage, notably in view of what precedes it, seem controversial to me? Who is the one who decides not to execute all the prisoners of war, as the Roman nobles would perhaps have done – who seem to be strongly related to a military function in this context – but rather to save them for major works promoted by the popes or – one would think – by the leadership of the Roman Church? On a first reading of the passage, I was persuaded that it could be a portion of a letter from Leo IV, partially inserted into the narrative and not completely harmonised with the text, in which the pope told an unknown addressee about the events and gave an account of his decision not to execute all the Saracens, displaying his clemency in contrast to the Roman *proceres* (but the clemency, in the passage, is of God!). I found confirmation of my first belief in the short introduction to the life written by Duchesne[17], although this explanation did not convince me completely. The life of Leo IV, actually, seems to be well devised; interpolations are present, but they are explicitly introduced, such as the already mentioned prayer of Leo IV on the beach of Ostia or the texts of the blessings pronounced for the inauguration of the Civitas Leoniana.

Furthermore, in the life, numerous references are made to the letters sent by the pontiff, conciliar acts drawn up for the Roman council of 853, and privileges issued. Moreover, it is well known that the compilers of the papal lives collected in the *Liber pontificalis* were familiar with the papal letters, compiled at the *scrinium*, and with the administrative documents of the Roman Church (especially those of the *vestiarium*)[18]. It seems peculiar, therefore, that precisely the biographers of Leo IV's life do not make explicit reference to a letter from the pontiff and merely insert passages from it into the narrative, alternating between the third-person singular and the first-person plural, which undermines the comprehension of the text and makes the subjects of the action doubtful[19].

This leaves us with another hypothesis: the idea that the first-person plural, which appears on several occasions throughout the passage, is used to

mus, et illius ineffabilem pietatem, necnon et propriam tyrannidem luce clarius scire valuissent. Et post haec, ne otiose aut sine angustia apud nos viverent, aliquando ad murum quae circa ecclesia beatissimi Petri apostoli habebamus inceptum, aliquando per diversa artificum opera, quicquid necessarium videbatur, per eos omnia iubebamus deferri».

[17] LP, vol. 2, p. V: «Le récit de la seconde expédition sarracine a été manifestement tire d'une lettre pontificale».

[18] See Noble, *A new look*, pp. 353-356; Bougard, *Composition, diffusion et réception*, pp. 128-129; Geertman, *More veterum*; Capo, *Il «Liber pontificalis»*, pp. 58-87; McKitterick, *Rome,* pp. 7-16.

[19] Even Veronica Unger, who investigated the use of letters in the lives of the ninth century popes in the *Liber pontificalis*, does not recognise in the passage in question the insertion *ex abrupto* – i.e. without notification to the reader – of passages from a letter of the pontiff. See Unger, *Der «Liber pontificalis» in Kanzlei*, pp. 307-308.

indicate the same subject, namely the editors of the life. This means that not only the biographers' sensitivity is involved in the narrated events, but also their intention to be protagonists of the action, alongside the Roman *proceres*, thus reducing Leo IV's role in the whole issue. The biographers therefore would seem to be the explicit representatives of an exceptional group, which stands out from the rest of the Roman *proceres* by their closeness to the pontiff and their ability to make autonomous decisions, such as employing the Saracen prisoners as labourers on the building sites of major works.

The hypothesis that such a decision was not made by the pontiff but by others, as expressed by the first-person narrator, remains quite weak if based exclusively on a reading of Leo IV's life. What is certain is that Flodard of Rheims, in his poetic reworking of the life, neglects the mention of the hanging, ordered by the *proceres*, and attributes the decision to spare the Saracens to the *pietas* of the descendants of Aeneas (thus alluding to the entire community of Romans)[20]. In addition, there is also evidence of the inscription dedicated to the event, among the celebratory epigraphs that had been placed above the doors and posterns that allowed access to the Civitas Leoniana, the text of which has been preserved[21].

The inscription in question, transcribed by Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458), recalls the Saracens' attempt to make war on the Romans in order to plunder them, giving God the credit for defeating them and the Roman *milites* for capturing them alive. Furthermore, it added that they were forced to work in chains to build the fortification. Leo IV and the Emperor Lothar don't play any role other than marking the time of the event, promoted as a divine miracle[22]. In other words, it is interesting to note how the authors of these retellings remain ambiguous about the identity of those who decided not to execute the Saracens in order to profit from their labour at a period of major public works. Still, it would have been a good reason to celebrate the pope's clemency.

3. *Roman* proceres *in the life of Leo IV*

I then wondered whether it is possible to define the physiognomy of the decision-making group that is expressed by the voice of the first-person narrator, and if it could be specified more clearly than simply the Roman *proceres*

[20] Flodoardus Remensis, *De triumphis Christi*, col. 817: «servitiis quidam aeneadum pietate iubente servantur, guadentque piis servire ferini». See Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims*, p. 159, n. 60.

[21] On the inscriptions on the walls of the Civitas Leoniana see Scholz, *Politik*, pp. 175-176. See also Marazzi, *La costruzione della «Civitas Leoniana»*.

[22] Vegio, *De rebus antiquitis memorabilibus*, pp. 381-382: «Verba eius haec sunt. Cum voluisset iterum contra Romanos malevola Saracenorum gens bella excitare ut prius, depraedationesque inferre; quosdam, Deo permittente, maris tempestas absorbuit, quosdam vero Romani milites vivos ceperunt, atque ob laudem aeternamque memoriam, plures ferro vinctos, in hoc tam perhonesto opere diversos perferre labores coegerunt».

who are very present in the life of Leo IV. This task is not an easy one because behind the indistinct term "Roman *proceres*" are hidden segments of an articulated elite, involved in the administration of power, but whose dynamics are little known[23]. In the life, facing the persistent Saracen threat, Roman aristocrats took the initiative and promoted the election of Leo IV, who won the consent of the entire Roman community[24]. The Roman aristocrats then supported the pontiff in his decision to entrust Porto to Corsican refugees in exchange for their loyalty, so that the Corsicans were asked about their needs by Leo IV and his *proceres*. As a result, they were offered the restored *civitas* of Porto and the necessary for survival, again together with his *optimates*[25].

As we have already seen, the Roman aristocrats ordered the Saracen prisoners captured alive after the battle of Ostia to be hanged and the Saracen fleet shipwrecked[26]; the Roman aristocrats then carry out justice by participating in the special *placitum*, convened in the presence of the pope and the emperor, to judge the guilt of the *superista* Gratian[27]. Lastly, in the life, the biographers repeatedly value the positive relationship between Leo IV and the indistinct group of *proceres*. The pope showers the Roman *proceres* with luxury goods for the inauguration of Civitas Leoniana, to honor and enrich them[28], like a Roman emperor. Moreover, in the passage relating to the granting of Porto to the colony of the Corsicans, the biographers suggest the reason for this particular benevolence: the pope shows his predilection towards the *pro-defense urbis* Roman *proceres* because they are essential for the security of the city[29].

In the life of Leo IV, behind the term Roman *proceres* is represented a group with a strong military outlook – these are the Roman *milites* of the epigraph written above. They were involved in the front line against the Saracens; were behind the sentence of hanging the Saracens captured during military operations; and were involved in military decisions such as that of entrusting Porto to the Corsican refugees. Its members are the *magistri militum* who emerge from anonymity in the life. We read about a Peter *magister militum* to whom Leo IV entrusted the task of organising the transfer of the population

[23] On the Roman aristocracy in the first centuries of the Middle Ages, see Marazzi, *Aristocrazia e società*. Recently also West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*, pp. 112-125; Verardi, *Le strutture del potere*, pp. 87-106. Specifically on the term *proceres* and its variations in meaning in Rome, Carpegna Falconieri, *La «militia»*, p. 570.

[24] LP, vol. 2, p. 107. See Daileader, *One will, one voice*, p. 25. On the papal election in the early middle ages, see Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione*, pp. 3-19, 79-98.

[25] LP, vol. 2, pp. 126-127. On the subject see Marazzi, Le *«città nuove»*, p. 268 and Herbers, *Leo IV.,* pp. 246-249. On the *praeceptum* written for the Corsicans in the life of Leo IV, Unger, *Der «Liber pontificalis in Kazlei»*, pp. 312-313.

[26] LP, vol. 2, p. 119.

[27] LP, vol. 2, p. 134.

[28] LP, vol. 2, p. 125: «His itaque sacris peractis officiis, cunctos nobiles Rome multiplicibus donis, non tantum in auro argentove, sed et sericis palleis honoravit atque ditavit».

[29] LP, vol. 2, p. 127: «Ecce enim quanta crebro dicti praesulis erat ac praefulgebat misericordia, qui non tantum pro defensione urbis suos Romanos proceres diligebat, sed undecumque valebat colligere homines ad eorum auxilium et solatium invitabat».

of Centumcellae, unsafe on account of the constant attacks of the Saracens, to the new fortified foundation of Leopolis[30]; there is also the *magister militum* Daniel who accuses the *superista* (but *magister militum* as well) Gratian, according to biographers, directly in front of the Emperor Louis II[31].

The political role of the group of *proceres* in these difficult situations is then celebrated in the life of Leo IV. In fact, they first take the responsibility of choosing and electing Leo pontiff before the celebration of Sergius II's funeral, and without waiting for the *iussio* of the emperor (according to the dictates of the *Constitutio Romana*): this is a sudden and courageous political choice, taken during the delicate phase of a papal succession made even more dramatic, according to the biographers of the Life, by the persistent Saracen threat (even though the sacking of the Roman basilicas had just been completed). They are the *proceres*, therefore, who, *sine permisso principis*, successfully ensure the regular functioning of Roman political life by imposing a new, capable and determined pope.

Secondly, the *proceres* are at the side of the pontiff in another extremely delicate situation represented at the end of the life. This concerns the trial of the high Lateran official Gratian denounced directly to Louis II for plotting with the Greeks against the *potestas* of the Frankish emperor in Rome. The trial is exceptional, being the only known one involving the Emperor Louis II, who had travelled to Rome for the occasion, as the judging authority alongside the pontiff[32]. The exceptionality is also emphasised by the judicial venue in which it takes place: it is not at the *palatium lateranense*, where the judicial sessions presided over by the pope and his appointed officials usually took place, but at the *domus* built by Leo III near St Peter's basilica. Thus the emperor judges but outside the Aurelian walls, probably at the imperial palace that stood in the Vatican[33]. In fact, the entry of the emperor in Rome, accompanied by the Frankish *optimates*, was a delicate matter, especially when the memory of the abuses and violence that had marked the last descent of Louis II to Rome in 844[34], not yet emperor at the time, was still alive. In the life, the Roman *proceres* are represented at the court session with the Frankish

[30] LP, vol. 2, pp. 131-132.

[31] LP, vol. 2, p. 134. On the trial of Gratian, see Herbers, *Leo IV.*, pp. 224-227. On *magistri militum*, See Borri, *«Duces» and «magistri militum»* and Carpegna Falconieri, *La «militia»*. The title appears in Rome at the end of the 5th-early 6th century to denote the Byzantine leaders of the *militia* in charge of the defence of the city of Rome; it is also employed in later centuries in reference to the city's army, whose exact internal distribution and social composition are unknown.

[32] References to the trial in Capo, The *«Liber pontificalis»*, pp. 258-260. On the complex subject of imperial rights in Rome and its territory, particularly in the judicial field, see Bertolini, *Osservazioni sulla «Constitutio Romana»* and Capo, *«Iura regni et consuetudines illius»*.

[33] Probably at the imperial palace that stood in the Vatican and possibly also housed the imperial *missi* in Rome. See Delogu, *I Romani e l'Impero*, p. 219. On the judicial practices of Rome, see Toubert, *Les structures du Latium*, pp. 1229-1254 and Wickham, *Roma medievale*, pp. 442-468.

[34] LP, vol. 2, see Gantner, *A king in training?*.

aristocrats: the former beside the pope, the latter beside the emperor. The two groups, however, are not just representatives. They take an active part in the session by listening to the accusation of Daniel, repeated before the assembly; they decide together with the emperor, without the intervention of the pope, to give credit to Gratian, who accuses Daniel of speaking falsely. Biographers then remark that Louis II appropriately ruled according to Roman law. The Roman *proceres* are therefore protagonists on many levels: on the one hand they attend the whole event guaranteeing order, together with the pope – it is not by chance that biographers mention the *furor* of Louis II, who rushes to Rome to clarify Gratian's position; on the other they judge, together with the emperor, but not together with the pope, who merely presides over the session in relation to one of his representatives.

4. *Who wrote the life of Leo IV? Gratian, the* superista*, and his network*

At this point, we need to attempt to characterise the powerful élite that hides behind the biographers of the life of Leo IV. The continuous celebratory references to the pontificate of Leo III in the life of Leo IV would suggest that this élite consists of Roman families, bound together with a social success achieved by Leo III, managing to re-emerge during the years of Leo IV's pontificate. Certainly, these families seem to put some distance with the pontificate of Sergius II which, in the life of Leo IV, is alluded to as the time of neglect and acquiescence that led to the sacking of Rome by the Saracens (the explicit denunciation is found in the "Farnesian version" of the life of Sergius II, probably to be ascribed precisely to the biographers of Leo IV)[35]. Thus the purpose is openly to pay homage to Leo III, a controversial pontiff, who however was evidently seen as a beneficent figure by the most prominent families in the pontificate of Leo IV.

This family network seems to have Gratian, a high official of the Lateran *palatium*, at the centre of this network. In the life of Leo IV he is described as «eminentissimus magister militum, Romani palatii egregius superista and consiliarius»[36]. A title of great prestige is thus attributed to him, the contents of which remains in part unclear. The term *magister militum* here – I think – and more generally in the economy of Leo IV's life, indicates membership of the most illustrious group of Roman families and does not allude to specific assignments of a military nature[37]. Conversely, the title of *superista* is at-

[35] On this subject Betti, *The two versions*, pp. 190-192.
[36] LP, vol. 2, p. 134. Gratian, who appears in the trial episode, is also referred to as *superista urbis Romae* (*ibidem*, in Daniel's testimony to the judging assembly). The shift from *palatium* to *urbs* is interesting.
[37] Toubert acknowledges the uncertainty of the role entrusted to the *magistri militum* in the 9th century: he believes, on the basis of the Life of Leo IV (LP, vol. 2, p. 118) that they were ordained *super exercitum* by the pope. However, the episode to which Toubert is referring has Cesarius, son of Sergius, Duke of Naples, as its protagonist: in short, we are not talking about Roman

tributed to the official in charge of overseeing the activities that took place at the *palatium lateranense,* and ensuring the security of the pontiff, probably with command duties on specific military units[38]. Lastly, the term *consiliarius* seems to indicate a personality who could boast intimacy with the incumbent pontiff and therefore had some ability to direct his policies[39].

The interesting thing about Gratian is that he was able to maintain himself in power by surviving, almost unscathed, the troubled phase that followed the death of Leo IV (17 July 855). Indeed, Gratian played a decisive, albeit secluded, role during the first part of the pontificate of Benedict III. According to the life of the pontiff[40], he and a few others remained loyal to the newly-elected Benedict III, thus proving to be the architect of his success against the rival candidate for the papal throne, the powerful Anastasius, who had already been excommunicated during the pontificate of Leo IV (when indeed Gratian was at the height of his power)[41]. In the first part of the life, the biographers of Benedict III describe how Arsenius, bishop of Orte, managed to manipulate most of the Roman dignitaries, ecclesiastics and laymen, inducing them to refuse the already chosen candidate, Benedict, in favour of Anastasius, who also had the support of the imperial *missi*. But Gratian, still defined as a *superista*, and Theodore *scriniarius,* remained committed to defending the *palatium*, and only after their arrest did Anastasius and his followers enter Rome and brutally deposed Benedict. In spite of the support of the imperial *missi*, the fortunes of Anastasius were short-lived. The antipope aroused a sudden aversion among the Roman bishops, clergy and people, who managed to depose him and impose Benedict once again[42]. In the end, Gratian represented the top man of a power elite related to Leo IV, that successfully resisted Anastasius and eventually succeeded in imposing its own candidate.

Furthermore, it is Gratian himself who leads the already established power elite between the pontificate of Leo IV and that of Benedict III, guaranteeing its continuity. He succeeds because he is the *superista* of the *palatium* at the death of Leo IV, and maintains his high office during the interregnum phase. Officially filling the role of deputy after the death of the popes was de-

magistri militum and we are in the midst of military operations to stem the Saracen threat of 848. See Toubert, *«Scrinium» et «palatium»*, p. 82.

[38] The *superista* appears for the first time in the life of Hadrian I (772-795). On the *superista*, see Toubert, *«Scrinium» et «palatium»*, pp. 90-93; Carpegna Falconieri, *La «militia»*, p. 579.

[39] Toubert, *«Scrinium» et «palatium»*, p. 93.

[40] Edition of the life of Benedict in LP, vol. 2, pp. 140-148. On Benedict III (855-858), see Bertolini, *Benedetto III*.

[41] See Arnaldi, *Anastasio Bibliotecario*. The excommunication of Anastasius, cardinal priest of San Marcello, is also reported in the *Annales Bertiniani* (MGH, AB, pp. 92-95, *ad annum* 868): see MGH. Conc. III, n. 24, pp. 230-231 (850 XII 16, Rome) and n. 29, pp. 298-299 (853 VI 19, Rome). The accusation against Anastasius was that he abandoned his *paroechia* and resided abroad. In the life of Leo IV (LP, vol. 2, p. 129): «eo quod parochiam suam per annos V contra canonum instituta deseruit. et in alienas usque hodie demoratur». On the conflict between Leo IV and Anastasius, Cò, *Vescovi, re, imperatori*, pp. 1-17.

[42] LP, vol. 2, pp. 141-143.

cisive. This meant that it was possible to influence the outcome of the papal elections and thus, more generally, to condition the internal dynamics of the Roman *proceres*; in this regard, it is interesting that it was precisely a letter of Leo IV which laid down clear provisions on the government of Rome, to be implemented in the absence of the pontiff. The letter, dated to April 853, appears to have been drafted before Leo IV's departure for Ravenna and therefore does not refer directly to the case of the pope's death. However, it does suggest that it was during the pontificate of Leo IV that the urgent need to control the regular administration of the *palatium* in the absence of the pontiff was expressed. In the stipulation, Leo IV recommends that the *ordo ecclesiasticus* (the high-ranking members of the palatine clergy) on the one hand, and the *ordo palatinus* (all lay officials) on the other, should not be undermined; he then insists that the *nobiles* continue with regularity to administer justice at the *palatium*[43]. This seems to have been an important stipulation, aimed at guaranteeing stability to the public order and social arrangement despite papal successions. Its consequence of it, we see the involvement of Gratian the *superista* following the death of Leo IV, who, thanks to his public role, participates in the boycott of Anastasius, preventing not only the social revolution – the elite constituted by papal officials would have taken on a new appearance – but also the political one (the special relationship of Anastasius with Carolingian authority is undeniable) which would lead to his election as pope.

The reasons why I believe that Gratian's elite should be associated with the writing of the life of Leo IV are as follows. Gratian was a high Lateran official during the pontificate of Leo IV and certainly in the early part of the pontificate of Benedict III. In that role he, or one of those associated with him, were certainly able to interfere in the process of writing the life of the pontiff, which was entrusted to the officials of the *scrinium* and the *vestiarium*. Furthermore, it cannot be a coincidence that the life of Leo IV ends with the detailed narration of the trial of Gratian. The episode is inconsistent with the rest of the narrative – the life omits the fact that Louis II was consecrated emperor in Rome by Leo IV (850), but records that he rushed to Rome to judge Gratian – and marginalises Leo IV, the almost inactive president of the special judicial session. Instead, the protagonists of the story are Gratian and the emperor. Gratian, accused of plotting against the *potestas* held by the Franks in *terra Romana* with plans to return Rome to the Greeks, is exonerated by popular vote. The emperor, who declares the innocence of Gratian, decides that Daniel, the false accuser, would be judged *secundum Romanam legem* and handed over to Gratian; the emperor then intercedes with Gratian on Daniel's behalf and Gratian is willing to release Daniel. What is the purpose of including this account in the life of Leo IV? My impression is that this account

[43] MGH, Epp. V, n. 23, p. 599: «Precipimus, ut in nostra absentia nec ecclesiasticus, nec palatinus ordo deficiat. Sed constitutis diebus, tamquam si nos hic fuissemus, omnes nobiles recurrant et quaerentibus ac petentibus legem ac iustitiam faciant».

is first and foremost useful to Gratian and his loyal elite, who are entrusted with a specific political communication to the emperor. Unfavourably viewed by some of the Roman *proceres* (just considering Daniel as a spokesman for the Roman families hostile to Gratian), unpopular with the Franks (Louis II personally rushes to Rome to judge Gratian), Gratian declares himself supportive of Frankish interests, loyal and obedient to the emperor who, however, takes action in Rome in full respect of the Roman legal tradition[44]. This episode of the trial was therefore included by Gratian himself to reassure the Franks of his reliability and to strengthen his position and that of his men in and outside Rome. Moreover, the episode was also meant to be edifying: it illustrated the contexts and ways in which the emperor could legitimately intervene in Rome. After all, when Leo IV died, Gratian took sides against Anastasius, the popular candidate supported by Louis II. But even in the life of Benedict III, the lively narrative of the confrontation between Benedict III and Anastasius seems conveniently manipulated: in the end, the responsibility for the riots and violence lies with Anastasius, his men and the imperial *missi,* but not with the emperor, who seems to be unaware of the events[45]. In the life of Benedict III too, there is therefore a desire to showcase affable relations between Gratian and the emperor.

The last consideration concerns the relations between Gratian and the pontiffs who took advantage of his services. There is evidence, indeed, of tension between Leo IV and Gratian, that could have resulted in open opposition. The most significant source in this regard is a fragment of a letter addressed by the pontiff to Louis II, that the editor dates to September 852. Before discussing the Saracen threat, the pope here denounces a certain Gratian, whom the editor, correctly in my opinion, identifies precisely with the *superista* Gratian[46]. In the denunciation, the pontiff accuses Gratian, apparently known to the emperor and very influential, of having killed several men; probably the formula *tam ferro quam aqua fustibusque* indicates that these murders were perpetuated by Gratian while he administered justice irregularly or improperly. Hence such an issue must certainly have aroused the interest of the Franks, who distrusted Roman justice (this emerges from the already existing *Constitutio Romana*). Then Leo IV added that Gratian – and this was even more inappropriate – had forced several men to swear allegiance to him, which was considered in Roman circles as a legitimate act only when carried out towards the pope or the emperor. The pope thereby clearly denounces the build-up of Gratian's network, which is sealed by the oath: a complex,

[44] LP, vol. 2, p. 134: «clementissimus imperator, nolens contra instituta veterum Augustorum peragere Romanorum, eos secundum Romanam legem instituit iudicare».
[45] This consideration already in Bertolini, *Benedict III*.
[46] MGH, Epp. V, n. 1, p. 585: «Plures homines Gratianus tam ferro quam aqua fustibusque necare non timuit, et, quod his omnibus peius est, plures ad suam fidelitatem per iusiurandum constrinxit, id quod nulli, ut bene nostri, licet nisi imperatori aut pontifici perpetrare». On this letter, see RI I, 4, 2, 1, n. 245, p. 109.

uncontrollable power elite based on personal relationships strengthened by the oath, a practice that Leo IV perceives and denounces as unfamiliar in the Roman context, and as especially threatening to the stability of the Roman order.

Moreover, the tension between Leo IV and the power élite headed by Gratian is allayed through the writing of the life of the pontiff. In fact, the pope's biography also becomes a frame of reference for the expression of the identity of this elite, which is represented by a more substantial first-person narrator than usual, and/or by the introduction of narratives serving to promote the elite itself. This causes a kind of marginalisation of Leo IV. His political action is generally collective in most historical episodes: Leo IV acts side by side with the Roman *proceres* or seemingly smaller groups of *sui fideles* or *sui homines*.

Works cited

G. Arnaldi, *Anastasio Bibliotecario antipapa*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 3, Roma 1961, pp. 25-37.

M. Becher, *Die Reise Papst Leos III. zu Karl dem Grossen: Überlegungen zu Chronologie, Verlauf und Inhalt der Paderborner Verhandlungen des Jahres 799*, in *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkonung: Das Epos "Karolus Magnus et Leo papa" und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, ed. P. Godman, J. Jarnut, P. Johanek, Berlin 2002, pp. 87-112.

I. Belli Barsali, *Sulla topografia di Roma in periodo carolingio: la Civitas Leoniana e la Giovannipoli*, in *Roma e l'età carolingia*. Atti delle giornate di studio, 3-8 maggio 1976, Roma 1976, pp. 201-214.

O. Bertolini, *Benedetto III*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8, Roma 1966, pp. 330-337.

O. Bertolini, *Osservazioni sulla "Constitutio Romana" e sul "sacramentum cleri et populi Romani" dell'824*, in *Scritti scelti di storia medioevale*, vol. 2, ed. O. Bertolini, O. Banti, Livorno 1968, pp. 705-738.

M. Betti, *The two versions of the life of Pope Sergius II in the Liber pontificalis. Anti-Frankish feeling in Rome after Louis II's expedition of 844*, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, Firenze 2022, pp. 181-198.

F. Borri, *Duces e magistri militum nell'Italia esarcale (VI-VIII secolo)*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 6 (2005), 2.

F. Bougard, *Composition, diffusion et réception des parties tardives du «Liber pontificalis» romain (VIII^e-IX^e siècles)*, in *Liber, Gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, M. Sot, Turnhout 2009, pp. 127-152.

L. Capo, *Il «Liber pontificalis», i Longobardi e la nascita del dominio territoriale della chiesa romana*, Spoleto 2009.

L. Capo, Iura regni et consuetudines illius*: l'Impero carolingio a Roma*, in *Honos alit artes. Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri*, vol. 3, *Il cammino delle idee dal medioevo all'antico regime. Diritto e cultura nell'esperienza europea*, ed. P. Maffei, G.M. Varanini, Firenze 2014, pp. 183-190.

L. Capo, *Il «Liber pontificalis», la Chiesa Romana e il rapporto con il pubblico potere*, in *Das Buch der Päpste - Liber Pontificalis. Ein Schlüsseldokument europäischer Geschichte*, ed. K. Herbers, M. Simperl, Freiburg im Breisgau 2020, pp. 246-269.

T. Carpegna di Falconieri, *La militia a Roma. Il formarsi di una nuova aristocrazia (secoli VII-VIII)*, in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e-XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, ed. J.M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent, Rome 2012, pp. 559-583.

G. Cò, *Vescovi, re, imperatori. Anastasio Bibliotecario tra Oriente e Occidente*, Napoli 2019.

M. Costambeys, *Alcuin, Rome and Charlemagne's imperial coronation*, in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages. Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. F. Tinti, Turnhout 2014, pp. 255-289.

Ph. Daileader, *One will, one voice, and equal love: papal elections and the «Liber pontificalis» in the early Middle Ages*, in « Archivum historiae pontificiae», 31 (1993), pp. 11-31.

P. Delogu, *Leone III*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64, Roma 2005, pp. 487-496.

P. Delogu, *I Romani e l'Impero (VII-X sec.)*, in *Three empires, three cities: identity, material culture and legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750-1000*, ed. V. West-Harling, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 191-225.

Flodoardus Remensis, *De triumphis Christi*, in PL, ed. Migne, CXXXV, Paris, 1853, coll. 491-886.

C. Gantner, *A king in training? Louis II of Italy and His Expedition to Rome in 844*, in *After Charlemagne. Carolingian Italy and its rulers*, ed. C. Gantner, W. Pohl, Cambridge 2021, pp. 164-183.

H. Geertman, *More veterum. Il Liber pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo*, Groningen 1975.

S. Gibson, B. Ward Perkins, *The surviving remains of the Leonine wall*, in «*Papers of the British School at Rome*», 47 (1979), pp. 30-57.

K. Herbers, *Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit*, Stuttgart 1996.

K. Herbers, *Le Liber Pontificalis comme source de réécritures hagiographiques (IX^e-X^e siècle)*,

in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident medieval. Transformations textuelles et idéologiques*, ed. M. Goullet, M. Heinzelmann, Ostfildern 2003, pp. 87-107.
P.C. Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims: sein Leben und seine Dichtung «De triumphis Christi»*, Leiden-Köln 1978.
D. Jaspers, H. Fuhrmann, *Papal letters in the early middle ages*, Washington DC 2001.
F. Marazzi, *La costruzione della «Civitas Leoniana» e qualche considerazione sulla costruzione di «città nuove» papali nel secolo IX*, in «Geo-Archeologia», 1 (1992), pp. 67-86.
F. Marazzi, *Le «città nuove» pontificie e l'insediamento laziale nel IX secolo*, in *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, ed. R. Francovich, G. Noyé, Firenze 1994, pp. 251-277.
F. Marazzi, *Aristocrazia e società (secoli VI-XI)*, in *Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi. Roma medievale*, ed. A. Vauchez, Bari 2001, pp. 41-69.
F. Marazzi, *Leone IV*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 64, Roma 2005, pp. 496-501.
R. McKitterick, *Rome and the invention of the papacy. The «Liber pontificalis»*, Cambridge 2020.
R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo. Tipografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo*, Roma 2004.
T.F.X. Noble, *A new look at the «Liber pontificalis»*, in «Archivum historiae pontificiae», 23 (1985), pp. 347-357.
A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Morte e elezione del papa. Norme, riti e conflitti. Il Medioevo*, Roma 2013.
S. Pergola, *Il fenomeno del reimpiego nelle mura leonine*, in «Archivio della società romana della storia patria», 125 (2002), pp. 5-32.
R. Santangeli Valenzani, *Topografia del potere a Roma nel X secolo*, in *Three empires, three cities: identity, material culture and legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750-1000*, ed. V. West-Harling, Turnhout 2015, pp. 135-156.
R. Schieffer, *Charlemagne and Rome*, in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J.M.H. Smith, Leiden 2000, pp. 279-295.
S. Scholz, *Politik - Selbsverständnis - Selbstdarstellung. Die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 2006.
P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium medieval. Le Latium meridional et la Sabine du IX^e^ à la fin du XII^e^ siècle*, Rome 2015 (first ed. Rome 1973).
P. Toubert, Scrinium et palatium*: la formation de la bureaucratie romano-pontificale aux VII-I^e^-IX^e^ siècles*, in *Roma nell'alto Medioevo*, vol. 1, Spoleto 2001, pp. 57-119.
V. Unger, *Päpstliche Schriftlichkeit im 9. Jahrhundert. Archiv, Register, Kanzlei*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2018.
V. Unger*, Der «Liber pontificalis» in Kanzlei und Archiv der Päpste. Zur Abfassung, Verwendung und Aufbewahrung des «Liber pontificalis» im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *Das Buch der Päpste - Liber Pontificalis. Ein Schlüsseldokument europäischer Geschichte*, ed. K. Herbers, M. Simperl, Freiburg im Breisgau 2020, pp. 304-323.
M. Vegio, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, Roma 1953, pp. 377-398.
A.A. Verardi, *Il Liber Pontificalis Romano e la costruzione della biografia di Leone III: papato, società e politica nella Roma di inizio IX secolo*, in «Archivum historiae pontificiae», 52 (2018), pp. 179-203.
A.A. Verardi, *Le strutture del potere*, in *Roma altomedievale, Paesaggio urbano, società e cultura (secoli V-X)*, ed. R. Santangeli Valenzani, Roma 2023, pp. 87-106.
V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine Heritage, the Imperial Present, and the Construction of City Identity*, Oxford 2021.
C. Wickham, *Nobiltà romana e nobiltà italiana prima del Mille. Parallelismi e contrasti*, in *Nobiltà romana nel Medioevo*, ed. S. Carocci, Roma 2006, pp. 5-14.
C. Wickham, *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città, 950-1150*, Roma 2013.

Maddalena Betti
University Ca' Foscari of Venice (Italy)
maddalena.betti@unive.it
0000-0003-3666-598

Aristocracy in Ravenna in the age of Lothar I: integration and historical memory

by Edward M. Schoolman

There remains a significant lacuna in the narrative sources about the aristocracy in Ravenna during the age of Lothar I. For example, the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna offers very little on account of its focus and defective ending, while Riccobaldo of Ferrara, who was able to work in the episcopal archives in the end of the thirteenth century, also leaves only traces in his histories of either Lothar or the city. The charters from the church of Ravenna, on the other hand, demonstrate a significant change during Lothar's 37-year reign in Italy. They are witness to a period of Frankish integration into Ravenna's aristocratic elites through marriages, a phenomenon referenced for later periods in the literary sources. By 855, at the end of Lothar's reign, the charters allude to a shift in the composition of Ravenna's aristocracy, having transformed into an elite admixture of noble Franks and the landholding elites of Ravenna who saw the identity of their lineage as «descended from dukes». The post-dating or even absence of this shift in later narrative sources reveals that it was not the first half of the ninth century but later realignments of Ravenna's urban elite that left a stronger mark on the city's past.

Middle Ages: ninth century; Ravenna; aristocracy; Carolingians; historical memory; ecclesiastical authority

Edward M. Schoolman, University of Nevada, Reno, United States, eschoolman@unr.edu, 0000-0002-1416-1222

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Edward M. Schoolman, *Aristocracy in Ravenna in the age of Lothar I: integration and historical memory*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.16, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 273-288, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations
Chronicon Faventinum = *Magistri Tolosani Chronicon Faventinum*, ed. G. Rossini, Bologna 1936-1939 (RIS, n.s., 28/1).
LP = *Liber Pontificalis*, *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vol., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1886-1892.
MGH, Salimbene, *Cronica* = Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hannover-Leipzig 1905-1913 (MGH, SS, 32).

1. *Introduction*

The city of Ravenna had seen imperial favor several times in its history. It was the seat of government for the emperor Honorius and Galla Placidia in the fifth century, served as the capital for Theodoric's Gothic kingdom, and later as the center of Byzantine control in seventh century Italy under its exarchs. With the exit of the exarchs in the mid-eighth century and the arrival of Franks shortly afterwards, the city continued to seek imperial notice through various means, primarily in efforts by its church and bishops in securing favor through gifts in exchange for confirmations and privileges, while "new" emperors sought out the city in an effort to use its imperial past as part of their own legitimacy. It was within this latter context that the city's aristocracy – primarily of landholding urban elites – recast themselves into new hereditary positions, primarily through a number of lines of claiming descent from "dukes". In this medieval and post-imperial afterlife, these elite worked to reclaim elements of this past legacy though their connections to alternative sources of power, locally through the patronage of the Church of Ravenna and neighboring monastic institutions, and more expansively through involvement and with the new rulers of northern Italy, the Carolingian Franks.

The focus of this paper is the specific evolution of the aristocracy in Ravenna during the reign of Lothar I, setting as a chronological boundary from his ascension as King of Italy in 818 to his death 855, overlapping with both his father, Louis the Pious, and his son, Louis II. Given the limitations of local contemporary sources and a desire to trace the changes that took place during this period, it becomes necessary to also use later medieval narratives and those beyond the strict confines of Ravenna. This wider range of sources reports on not just the successes and failure of these coeval aristocracies in harnessing new connections, but extends the reach of this study beyond the actual evolution to incorporate how the broader history of the city's urban elites were later imprinted into historical memory.

In practice, however, it is the evidence from charters that fills in the transition of the local aristocracy and the integration of Franks and their allies into the city's elites. Unlike in neighboring communities where Lombards were dispossessed or demoted by the arrival and integration of the Franks within less than a generation, in the case of Ravenna no families were dispossessed in this period and no new hierarchies immediately established. Instead, a small number of outsiders, made up primarily of Franks, married

into the ruling elite post-exarchal families, and with these unions creating new types of aristocratic dynasties.

Between the evidence from contemporary charters and later narratives, not every question can be answered. For example, how were marriages between Ravenna's elites and outsiders arranged during the age of Lothar? What was the impetus for financially imbalanced unions and exogamous marriages, and were they driven by "top-down" or "bottom-up" priorities? What marked the period of the 830s and 840s, when the process began, as different from the earlier periods? And ultimately, how did this integration of Frankish elite affect civic identity in a decidedly post-Roman and post-Imperial city? What our evidence does illuminate is that the shifting nature of the city's aristocracy described here left a long and lasting impact on urban memory, and further contributed to the unique character of the city. This evidence, both through contemporary and later reflections, became central for both what they convey and what they omit about the legacy of Lothar and this transformation of the city's aristocracy.

2. *Sources*

The narrative sources that can offer some insights into Ravenna's ninth century history begin with the contemporary *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, and with a significant lacuna pick up again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[1]. Following a brief but illuminating anecdote in the *Cronica* of the Franciscan Salimbene de Adam (which focuses on the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), the *Chronicon Faventinum* of the early thirteenth century Tolosanus and the works of Riccobaldo of Ferrara, composed and centered on activities in the region, are instructive for what they report, and leave out or misunderstand about this crucial period in Ravenna's history. This evidence can be combined with the charters of the Church of Ravenna, for which we have seven with dates aligning with the reign of Lothar that offer small but important windows into the different communities and networks engaged in the production of these documents and support of the church[2].

For the early Middle Ages, the best source for this history is the *Liber pontificalis* of Ravenna at least through the early 840s[3]. While it was a serial biography following the model of that of Rome, unlike that project it had a single author, the cleric Agnellus, who offers irregular insights into city's secular elites, the local landholding urban aristocracy, even during his own

[1] On the position of Ravenna in a wider Carolingian (and later Ottonian) historiographic context, see Savigni, Memoria Urbis.
[2] On the networks visible in the documents, and especially in the lists of witnesses, see Schoolman, *Local Networks*.
[3] Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*.

lifetime. Instead unsurprisingly he was concerned with the affairs of the city's archbishops and clergy, and its descriptions of Lothar were generally positive – he was indeed the emperor – and his work explored the relationship he purportedly had with the archbishop at the time, George[4]. Unfortunately in this case, the *Liber pontificalis* of Ravenna is problematic because its ending is lost, so the effects of the civil war and Lothar's continued possible relationship with Ravenna is unknown. What is left is only a light imprint of the possible relationships between the city's ecclesiastical administration and its aristocracy, which must have been heavily involved by this point.

Few other sources originate from Ravenna in the following centuries. In part, it reflected the political situation, with Ravenna continuing to face a political decline (even, for example, when received the patronage of the Ottonian emperors), while neighboring cities found their fortunes elevated. The paucity of references to ninth century Ravenna would not end until the thirteenth century, when Riccobaldo of Ferrara, who was able to work in the episcopal archives and library of the city, composed his histories. Even these, however, offer very little of note on either Lothar or the city itself, and instead turning his focus to local events in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. While Riccobaldo is primarily known for general chronicles and other humanistic works, during his time in Ravenna from 1297 to at least 1301, when he served in the administration of Obizzo II d'Este, he composed two works of "local" history, the *Pomerium Ravennatis Ecclesie* (dedicated to a local archdeacon, Michael) and what is known as the *Chronica extracta de archivo ecclesie Ravenne*, both which would in turn serve as preludes for his later chronicles, notably the *Compendium de Historia Romana* and the shorter *Compilatio chronologica*[5].

The archival sources, on the other hand, demonstrate a significant change during Lothar's 37-year reign in Italy. They consist of charters produced by activities related to the church of Ravenna, and preserved in that institution's archive[6]. In Ravenna, they are witness to the beginning of a period of Frankish integration into the city's aristocratic elites, through the support of the archbishop and marriage alliances, the latter a phenomenon otherwise unrecognized in the literary sources. By 855, at the end of Lothar's reign, the composition of Ravenna's aristocracy was already on its way to becoming an admixture of noble Franks and the landholding elites of Ravenna[7]. This new aristocratic cohort would in the tenth century describe themselves as *ex genere ducum* or «descended from dukes», a form that would remain common in

[4] Schoolman, *Representations of Lothar I*. George of Ravenna was also mentioned as the first of the bishops who sided with Drogo of Metz in 844 during a dispute between Lothar and Pope Sergius II, in LP, vol. 2, pp. 89-90.
[5] On the career of Riccobaldo, see Hankey, *Riccobaldo of Ferrara*, and pp. 10-13 for the specific relationship between his work and the material of Ravenna.
[6] *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono.*
[7] On the history of one early Frankish-exarchal family, the Guidi, see Rinaldi, *Le origini dei Guidi.*

the charts for another century until a more "local" identity become dominant, one that is acknowledged in both narratives and archival documents[8].

This intermingling of Ravenna's old post-Roman elite families with the newly arrived Franks and neighboring Lombards has long been recognized, with significant studies by Giulio Buzzi and Veronica West-Harling, although the process has most closely tied to the second half of the ninth century and into the tenth century[9]. My intervention here will be to closely examine the charters for the early evidence of this process under Lothar, offer some explanations as to its onset and the factors that led to its acceleration, propose some further questions, as well as explore why this phenomenon was essentially overlooked in local contemporary and later medieval sources.

3. *Lothar, Ravenna, and inconsistent historiography*

Ravenna's integration into the *Regnum* of Italy was complicated given its eighth-century history, both as the seat of byzantine power in central Italy, and after 751, its continued rivalry with and at times animosity towards Rome. Its central political figures were its bishops, frequently selected from the ranks of the city's post-exarchic aristocracy – the various *duces* and *magistri militum* of the city –. The *Liber pontificalis* offers the lives of bishop Martin, who served from 810-818, and George, 837-846, but we are missing the biographies of both their predecessors. After George, our best source for Ravenna's ninth century bishops, is, unfortunately, the *Liber Pontificalis* of Rome – however neither this narrative nor the *Liber* for Ravenna pay much attention to the various groups that formed Ravenna's evolving aristocracy, something for which we will have to turn to other sources.

At the end of the thirteenth century, the historian and humanist Riccobaldo of Ferrara, according to his own accounts, was able to access the archive of the church of Ravenna during a three year stay from 1297-1300 when he may have served as a church canon. Relying primarily on manuscript accounts of the city's past, he produced a number of works, including two specifically "centered" so to speak on the city itself: the *Pomerium Ravennatis Ecclesie* and what is known as the *Chronica extracta de archivo ecclesie Ravenne*, which seemed to have been drafted as a prelude or scaffolding for his more comprehensive chronicles[10]. Given the sources he had at his disposal, it might be suitable to examine how he understood the events of the reign of Lothar and the ninth century more generally.

In the *Pomerium*, which begins as a universal chronicle but narrows to a regional history by the period of Frederick II (1194-1250), Riccobaldo pres-

[8] Schoolman, *Inheriting Identity and Constructing History*, pp. 111-115.
[9] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*; Buzzi, *Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna*; *Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo.*
[10] Zanella, *Ferrara.*

ents a rather bland version of Lothar's reign, scoured from the general sources at hand. Appearing in Book IV, chapter 71, is a description of the reign taken almost verbatim from Martin of Opava's enormously popular twelfth century *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, an account which focuses on the conflict between Lothar and his royal brothers, Louis the German and Charles the Bald. Riccobaldo's including his own addition following Martin's text, noting that: «[Following the end of the conflict in 843], Lothar ruled with his son Louis for five years; in the 15th year of his reign, having divided his kingdom between his sons, he renounced the secular world, moving to the monastery of Prüm, and taking on monastic rites, he died»[11]. What we find in the *Chronica extracta de archivo ecclesie Ravenne* is something even more skeletal (although featuring slightly more information), but nothing to suggest that Riccobaldo was interested or able to include material relating to the local history of the city in whose archives he studied.

This anecdote is telling because the silence of Riccobaldo on the majority of Lothar's reign, not to mention the situation of Ravenna's elites during the middle of the ninth century, is perhaps surprising. Yet, this lack of attention is also indicative of a noticeable *lacuna* given the sources at his disposal, although as Igor Santos Salazar's contribution in this volume articulates, there is significant silence on a number of other fronts as well.

We can see the effects of this historical disinterest in other places, such as in his casual glossing over of Charlemagne's other successors, as a result of the styles and genres which Riccobaldo was emulating. It is possible to reveal more about the policies that Lothar may have taken in Ravenna by first considering his approaches in neighboring places, and following that, how the charters of Ravenna paint the developments of the city's elites – lay, ecclesiastical, and often intertwined – during the period of Lothar's reign.

In the *Chronicon Faventium*, an earlier thirteenth century chronicle written to provide a deep history of city of Faenza by a local canon named Tolosanus, we can see how a different historical approach reveals the shadow of Carolingian policy within local memory and history[12]. Although most of the chronicle is concerned with Faenza's history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Tolosanus reaches back to reimagine the Roman foundations of the city, and shifts chronology and perspective to try to trace various narratives connected to the city's geographical position. Following an account concerned with destruction of the nearby city of Forlì by the Lombard king Grimoald in the seventh century, the tenth chapter of the *Chronicon* begins with the age of the Carolingians

[11] Riccobaldo, *Pomerium*, IV, 71: «Lotharius mox cum filio suo Lodovico annis V imperavit. Anno imperii XV, partito inter filios regno, renuntiavit seculo et in Promia monasterio, suscepto habitu monachali, obdormivit in Christo. De cuius anima maxima inter angelos et demones altercatio fuit, ita ut cunctis assistentibus corpus distrahi videbatur, sed orationibus monachorum demones fugati sunt».

[12] *Chronicon Faventinum*. The most recent analysis of this chronicle has been Mascanzoni, *Il Tolosano e i suoi continuatori*.

through an abbreviated account of the battle of Roncevaux and continues with a genealogy of Charlemagne's heirs through to Lothar. In the remaining text of that chapter, he includes an item concerning local history: «At that time he [Lothar] was received with honor coming to Rome from Faenza; he placed the area called Acereta under the jurisdiction of Faenza, then he made Lutirano as restitution to the bishop because count Tetgrimo had invaded it»[13].

This confused statement seems to indicate that after traveling to Rome, Lothar corrected jurisdictional issues which arose in Faenza, offering the Valle di Acereta (which by the time of Tolosanus was home to an important Camaldolensi monastery) to the *comitatus* of the city, while Lutirano, a settlement southwest of the city along a different valley, was given as restitution to the bishop, although the later narrative of this story makes it unclear as to which bishop the settlement was given. Although Tolosanus has scrambled some of the details, placing the late tenth century figure of Tetgrimo back a century, he still positioned Lothar as having the authority to settle jurisdictional issues, and as a leader invested in the region.

These literary sources, both contemporary to Lothar and those following a later tradition, are mostly uninterested in the evolutions of local elites. As noted in the introduction, however, we can find evidence of the development of a new aristocracy within the archival sources from the church of Ravenna – with a warning that we cannot do nearly the prosopographical analysis that is possible with the charters from Lucca, for example, that are analyzed in other contributions to this volume.

As a different category of evidence, Ravenna's charters can illuminate a reflection of networks and relationships in sales, donations, and registers of witnesses to varying degrees of resolution depending on the aims of the various texts. This category must be approached with some caution, however, as while there are 48 charters from Ravenna in the ninth century, only 5 can be positively dated to the reign of Lothar, with a further two dated roughly to the middle of that century. Of these, two are privileges and two are donations, while the rest are single cases: a *placitum*, a record of sale, and a request for an emphyteutic lease. Despite the relatively paucity of evidence for this exact period, under scrutiny these charters reveal much about the evolution of Ravenna's aristocracy.

4. *Identifying aristocracy in Ravenna's charters*

Here we turn to the specific evidence from Ravenna's charter, and the first of the five positively identified charters from the period of Lothar's reign

[13] *Chronicon Faventinum*, 10, pp. 18-19: «Quodam tempore Romam pergens a Faventinis receptus est honorifice; qui curtem quamdam Aceretam nomine positam Faventino subposuit comitatui; Lautiranum autera, quod comes Tigrimus invaserat, restitui fecit episcopo». This event is also discussed in Schoolman, *Inheriting Identity and Constructing History*, pp. 119-122.

was issued on July 11 in 819 in Rome. In this document, crucial for Ravenna's church, Pope Paschal I confirmed the rights of the church of Ravenna in the granting of a *privilege* outlining not only its status over regional churches and monasteries, but its immunities from other infringements[14]. This was, of course, a clear victory of the archbishop Petronax of Ravenna, who likely won this confirmation in part due to his relationship with the Carolingians, and especially Lothar – one that would continue and deepen with his successor, the Archbishop George[15]. Unfortunately, little is known about Petronax, who served as bishop from 817-837, from the perspective of Ravenna, as his biography was not included (or did not survive) in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus except for a few anecdotes, including the following inserted into the biography of the bishop Maurus:

> But almost twelve years ago, in the time of Bishop Petronax, the Emperor Lothar ordered [the polished lid of the tomb of bishop Maurus] to be removed, and he enclosed it in a wooden chest on wool and carried it off to Francia, and placed it on the altar of Saint Sebastian, as if it were a table. It was commanded me by the bishop, that I go there [the church of Severus in Ravenna], lest the workmen should act carelessly and break it; but since my heart was full of grief I withdrew to a different place[16].

Although Agnellus's reaction to the despoliation of the tomb of Maurus was negative, the act itself, Lothar taking a monument associated with a popular Ravennate bishop with the approval of Petronax, and installing it in Francia, functioned to elevate the city during a period when the Carolingians were renegotiating their positions and alliances in Italy[17]. Taking the privilege of 819 together with this anecdote from the *Liber Pontificalis*, however, demonstrates how the relationship between the political activities of the bishops and the changing nature of Ravenna's aristocracy is tenuous; for the privilege itself, no locals are named, as was typical in this form of document, but it instead illustrates of the attempts of Ravenna's church to maintain authority, and those selected from the aristocracy to lead it[18].

The second document, on papyrus and now held in the Vatican library, records a donation to the church of Ravenna in either 823 or 824 of a series of properties in the nearby towns of Imola and Faenza[19]. These cities, formal-

[14] Savigni, *I papi e Ravenna*, p. 343. Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 9, pp. 21-23 (819 VII 11, Rome).
[15] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*, pp. 83-84.
[16] Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna, The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 231 (for the original text see Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, 113, p. 284: «Sed pene annos .XII., tempore Petronacis pontificis Lotharius augustus tollere iussit et in capsam ligneam super lanam inclausit et Franciam deportavit et super altarium sancti Sebastiani, mensam ut esset, posuit. Praeceptum mihi a pontifice fuit, ut ego illuc issem, ne caementarii incaute agerent, frangeretur; sed corde dolore pleno in partem aliam secessi»).
[17] Schoolman, *Representations of Lothar I*, pp. 125-126; Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 308-322.
[18] Ravenna ceased to be a political center in the ninth century, but remained important for Carolingians for its materials and its past status as capital (Augenti, *A tale of two cities. Rome and Ravenna*).
[19] Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 10, pp. 23-25 (823 IX 3 - 824 IX 3).

ly under the episcopal jurisdiction of Ravenna, were also under its political way, as made clear by the location of the donors, Stephanus and Digna, who lived in the territory outside of Faenza. The papyrus is incomplete, so we cannot scour the list of witnesses to understand the political, cultural, and even social networks to which Stephanus and Digna belonged. As for their backgrounds, in this case their names themselves are of little help in determining origins, as Stephanus was one of the most common names found in Romagna at this time, and Digna, while rare, was one of the typical "salvation-bringing" personal names[20].

We must wait until 838, twenty years after Lothar ascended to the throne in Italy, for a charter that illustrates a process the must have already commenced in earnest in the decades prior. In 838, a *placitum* was held in two locations – first Rovigo and later Ravenna – and adjudicated by a three-man panel: Theodorus, bishop and emissary of the pope; Vuitgherius, bishop of Turin and imperial missus; and Adelghis, count of Parma and imperial missus[21]. Adelghis is an important figure – one to whom we will return in our conclusion –, as his activities under Louis the Pious, Lothar, and Louis II illustrate the continuity of his loyalty to and utility within the Carolingian *Regum*[22].

The details of the case are as follows: George, the archbishop of Ravenna, ally of Lothar, and perhaps even missus of the pope, challenged Bruningo, an imperial vassal, over the ownership of a range of estates that were claimed as the patrimony of Saint Apollinaris. These were effectively estates that had belonged to the church of Ravenna, but had likely been contested in the recent past. In order to affirm the owner, the *placitum* serves to record Bruningo conceding to the claim made by George and recognizing the rights of the church.

As fascinating as these events must have been to attend, our interest lies in the larger perspective of those who are recognized in attendance within the charter. Even though Lothar himself was not present, his Frankish and Lombard vassals and *missi* were there in close proximity to the men who would represent the aristocratic factions closest to the archbishop and those who were part of the retinues of the adjudicating committee. While given few other names, although the following are listed as being in attendance:

> G[eogrius] archiep(iscopu)s
> Lauterius, Pe[t]rus germanis
> Romanus, Lauterio fil(io)
> Paulus, La[u]terius ger(mani)
> Africanus

[20] Haubrichs, *The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna*, p. 280; Haubrichs, *Die frühmittelalterliche Namenwelt von Ravenna*, p. 237.
[21] Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 11, pp. 25-28 (838 V 1, Rovigo, later Ravenna).
[22] Adelghis (or Adelchis) was a member of the Supponid dynasty, and over time accumulated a number of other positions. While he was first count in Parma in the 830s, he also became count of Cremona and Brescia. Wickham, *Early Medieval*, p. 57.

Constantinus
Fredhald
Iohannes
Martin(us)
alius Roman(us)
Theidera
Vuilliram
Vitalis
Petrus
Stefanus

The onomastics give us some hint of what might be taking place. On the one hand, Paul, Peter, Constantine, John, Martin, and Vitalis are very common in the documentation from Ravenna in the eighth and ninth century. On the other, the names Lauterius and Africanus are rare in Ravenna, and appear only in this charter, although the name Lauterio, a shortened form of Greek Eleutherius, is known from other texts[23]. Others deserve some further discussion. Fredhald, Theidera, and Vuilliram represent, if not uniformly "Germanic" names in origin, at least those that would be understood as decidedly non-Ravennate in this context. Even if we cannot know their connections beyond this document, that they were physically in Ravenna together helps us make sense of the developments of the following decades – that those connected to the Carolingian administration of Italy would continue to be present and over time integrated into the community.

This *placitum* also demonstrates an additional dimension, that the church, and the citizens who supported it, were at a peak of in not political power, a type of cultural relevance. Those who served Lothar directly, or as his *missi*, were also aware of this fact. And unlike the neighboring Lombard territories, Ravenna and Romagna did not yet have a Frankish landholding presence due to its history outside of Lombard control. This also flagged Ravenna's territory as one which would seem ripe for exploitation, which would offer a rationale for the hypothesis that in the 830s new intermarriages between Franks and locals are beginning to take place[24].

A roughly contemporary charter, a now-lost interfamilial donation-as-sale from the middle of the century, illustrates the next phase of the growing fusion among the elites in the Romagna. The charter has been dated roughly to the end of Lothar's reign by the appearance of the titles of *tribunus* found in two of the witnesses, although other internal evidence supports this supposition as well[25]. This original, once kept in Venice but likely belonging to a portfolio of documents relating to salt areas near Comacchio, reports that a

[23] Haubrichs, *The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna*, p. 255.
[24] On this process generally, see Cosentino, *Antroponomia, politica e società nell'esarcato.*
[25] The original charter is lost, but was originally published in the first edition of the papyri documents from medieval Italy in *I papiri diplomatici*, n. 127, pp. 193-194 (10th century). The text of the charter also appears in Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 14, pp. 31-33 (half 9th century c.).

certain Valbesinda (who appeared as Albesina elsewhere), gave to her son the *dux* Martin a house located in Rimini, land in the Montefeltrano and Rimini, and unsurprisingly considering the context, some salt pans in Comacchio in exchange for 270 *solidi mancusi bisanthei*[26]. The most relevant features of this gift are what can be presumed about those involved. Although without further confirmation, it is like that Valbesinda was Frankish, and moreover already in possession of a number of properties in the region (but connected to Ravenna itself)[27].

Valbesinda then serves critical figure both in this document and in the history of the development of a new aristocracy together with her husband, the *dux* Gregory[28]. Gregory was one of several *duces* serving in Ravenna at the time, and on account of his time and his first appearance in the historical record as a witness to the *placitum* of 838 mentioned above, he was a member of Ravenna's local aristocracy. He was also likely the same *dux* Gregory who was the beneficiary of a formal *renuncia* twenty years later in 858 of which only the subscriptions of participants and witnesses[29]. What these short statements attest was that a certain Atroaldo, the son of the deceased Atrepaldo, renounced in perpetuity the things which were described in the now lost document, acknowledging them as belonging to the duke Gregory, his sons and heirs, in exchange for 300 *solidi mancosi*. The situation seems to have been resolved amicably enough, and suggests that at this point in the middle of the ninth century and following the end of Lothar's reign, Gregory's aim seems to be the preservation of property (in this case at some expense) against those whose names indicate possible Lombard identity, or at least non-Ravennate origins.

Although outside of the chronological focus here, Martin, the son of *dux* Gregory and the recipient of Valbesinda's gift in 838, continued the process of Frankish integration into the local aristocracy of Ravenna. Their son Martin mentioned here, who was also titled as *dux*, found an equal partner in another exogamous marriage with a woman named Ingelrada, the daughter of Hucbald, an ally of Louis the Pious. Both Marin and the newly titled *comitessa* Ingelrada were active in Ravenna's political realm, and after Martin's death in 896, Ingelrada became a conduit in the establishment of convents and in support of the church[30].

[26] The appearance of *solidi mancusi* in both this document and in *renuncia* connected to Valbesinda's husband Gregory (discussed below) are interesting, although unique outliers, in that they be indicative of circulation of coins from Byzantine world (although, perhaps originally Sicily rather than Constantinople), reaffirming the cultural connections that Ravenna shared to the southern and eastern Mediterranean. Cosentino, *Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna*, pp. 434-435; Prigent, *Le mythe du mancus*.

[27] On the exploitation of the area between Comacchio and Ravenna, and the links between them, see Cortese, *Sui sentieri del sale*.

[28] Schoolman, *Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status*, p. 225.

[29] Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 18, pp. 42-44 (c. 858). This document is especially notable in that it is the last of the papyri private documents preserved from Italy.

[30] Schoolman, *Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status*, pp. 225-226.

Returning to the middle of the ninth century, the final charter worth considering was a donation put forth in March of 855 just a few months before Lothar died in Prüm, and long after his last venture to Italy. Indeed, it had been 11 years since the coronation of Lothar's son, Louis II, so perhaps it might also be worth considering this particular document as one which belonged to both reigns, or at the very least a transitionary period.

The donation will seem familiar, as it again involves the church of Ravenna, whose bishop John X was the recipient of estates in the territories of Bologna, Imola, and Faenza, given by Gisulf, the son of the deceased *dux* Romuald[31]. This family, along with that of the previously mentioned duke Gregory, eventually formed two of the major family dynasties in Ravenna in the ninth, tenth, and even the eleventh century, and given the naming conventions were likely Lombard. The base of Gisulf's family power, or at least their central location, may have been the town of Imola, although by this point they were clearly invested in their relationship with Ravenna, as Buzzi has suggested, that Gisulf and Romuald were related to John X[32].

Given the strength of the connections to various local ducal families, what marks this document as a departure from the others we have seen is the origins of the names, and likely the origins themselves, of those who served as witnesses to the document. These include the following:

Dux Romualdus
Atilingo the son of Atiliano
Iohannes, son of the *dativus* Gregorius
The *consul* Vitalianus
Vitale, son of Spereindeo

The mixture here of members of local families following Ravenna's naming and honorific conventions, along with others such as Atilingo the son of Atiliano, in a document issued by Gisulf the son of Romuald (both of whose naming patterns are a reflection of Lombard legacies), demonstrates an unsettled moment in the evolution of Ravenna's aristocracy in the early year of the reign of Louis II.

5. *Conclusion*

Although few in number, the Ravenna's charters from the reign of Lothar present a shift in Ravenna's aristocracy towards greater heterogeneity, one that is overlooked in most narrative sources. A different perspective, however, is demonstrated in the thirteenth century chronicler Salimbene de Adam, an

[31] Benericetti, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, n. 16, pp. 35-40 (855 III 7, *aput ecclesia beati Apolenaris*).
[32] Buzzi, *Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna*, p. 109.

early Franciscan with a focus on the regions around Parma and a contemporary of Riccobaldo. In his own *Chronicon*, he reflected on the status of Ravenna's elites:

> From ancient times Ravenna has had four noble families, as I have read often in the Ravenna Pontifical during the five years that I lived there. Yet all these great houses, noble and superior as they were, have been reduced to nothing. The last of these, the one that endured the longest, was the house of Lord Paul Traversaria, which was obliterated in my own days[33].

In reference to the "four noble families" we can assume these are those of the *Duchi, Serghi*, *Romualdi*, and *Traversaria*, lines that were established in the ninth century generally with roots going back to Lothar's time. Salimbene remarked about the "end" of the Traversaria line, forced from Ravenna in 1240 by Frederick II, but in doing so suggested that they were of some antiquity after presumably reading the *Liber pontificalis* of Agnellus (although that source does not specify the development of these families). What becomes clear from his account is that Salimbene acknowledged a discontinuity between the noble families of Ravenna's past and those who occupied that position in the thirteenth century, families that we have seen evolved in the reign of Lothar I (and continued through the reign of his son Louis II).

While few in number from this period, the charters of the Church of Ravenna reflect a version of this evolution of Ravenna's aristocracy into these local dynasties. Ravenna's earlier aristocracy formed from landholding military and administrative leaders, who in the late eighth century began to mirror the hereditary patterns of the surrounding communities, into which Frankish and Lombard elites integrated through marriage beginning during Lothar's reign. But this is part of a larger pattern of social and political changes across Carolingian Italy, as noted by Veronica West-Harling in reference to Rome in this volume. With respect to Ravenna in her recent book, she made the following observation:

> Just as we see a great permeability of the Roman tradition to the social changes of the *Regnum Italiae*, we also see, from the 830s, an increasing number of Germanic names, rising from about 2 percent of the total in the seventh century to 50 percent at the end of the tenth century – a far greater change than (...) in Rome. The changes comes about on account of the original Romano-exarchal elite increasingly allying itself with the Carolingian aristocracy of the *Regnum*[34].

But is it also critical in how this integration took place: no families were dispossessed in this period, and instead a number of outsiders, both Lom-

[33] MGH, Salimbene, *Cronica*, p. 166, *ad annum* 1240: «Et nota quod in Ravenna antiquitus fuerunt IIII nobilia casalia, sicut in Pontificali Ravenne pluries legi. Habitavi enim ibi per quinquennium. Et omnia illa casalia, que erant nobiliora et super alia, ad nichilum sunt redacta; quorum ultimum, quod plus duravit, fuit casale domini Pauli Traversarii, quod diebus meis omnino defecit».

[34] West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*, p. 210.

bards and Franks, man as well as women (as in the case of Valbesinda), married into the ruling elite post-exarchal families, creating a new type of dynasty, some of which would last until the thirteenth century.

The exact process of their formation, and of the latter half of Lothar's reign, however, remain clouded by a disconcerting lack of sources. The slim number of ecclesiastical charters, the irregular conclusion of the *Liber pontificalis Ravennatis*, and the lack of interest reflected in later histories equally contribute to this issue. What remains is a clear indication that Lothar, like his grandfather, had a keen interest in the city for its ecclesiastical (and political) past, and in parallel supported the contemporary bishops of Ravenna; at the same time, the conditions for a more broadly integrated local elite helped to facilitate the change in the composition of the city's aristocracy.

Works cited

Agnellus Ravennatis, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D.M. Deliyannis, Turnhout 2006 (CCCM, 199).

A. Augenti, *A tale of two cities. Rome and Ravenna between 7th and 9th century AD*, in *774, ipotesi su una transizione*, ed. S. Gasparri, Turnhout 2008, pp. 175-198.

G. Buzzi, *Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dell'850 al 1118*, in «Archivio della reale Società romana di storia patria», 38 (1915), pp. 107-213.

Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono, ed. R. Benericetti, Faenza 2006.

Le carte ravennati del decimo secolo. Archivio Arcivescovile, 3 vol., ed. R. Benericetti, Bologna 1999-2002.

M.E. Cortese, *Sui sentieri del sale. Proprietà, risorse e circuiti economici tra Comacchio e Ravenna (secoli IX-X)*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 23 (2022), pp. 81-119.

S. Cosentino, *Antroponomia, politica e società nell'esarcato in età bizantina e post-bizantina*, in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques,* ed. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent, Rome 2012 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), pp. 173-185.

S. Cosentino, *Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, in *From one sea to another. Trading places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. S. Gelichi, R. Hodges, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417-440.

D.M. Deliyannis (trans.), *Agnellus of Ravenna. The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Washington D.C. 2004.

T.A. Hankey, *Riccobaldo of Ferrara. His Life, Works and Influance*, Rome 1996 (Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale, subsidia 2).

W. Haubrichs, *Die frühmittelalterliche Namenwelt von Ravenna, der östlichen Romagna und der Pentapolis (Marche)*, in *Kulturelle Integration und Personennamen im Mittelalter*, ed. H. Wolfgang, J.-G. Christa, Berlin 2018, pp. 214-253.

W. Haubrichs, *The early medieval naming-world of Ravenna, eastern Romagna and the Pentapolis*, in *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, ed. J. Herrin, J. Nelson, London 2016, pp. 253-295.

L. Mascanzoni, *Il Tolosano e i suoi continuatori. Nuovi elementi per uno studio della composizione del* Chronicon Faventinum, Roma 1996.

T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825*, Philadelphia 1984.

I papiri diplomatici, ed. G. Marini, Roma 1805.

V. Prigent, *Le mythe du mancus et les origines de l'économie européenne*, in «Revue numismatique», 171 (2014), pp. 701-728.

Riccobaldo da Ferrara, *Pomerium Ravennatis Ecclesie*, ed. Gabriele Zanella, Cremona 2001 (on line < https://www.gabrielezanella.it/Pubblicati/Pomerium.html >).

R. Rinaldi, *Le origini dei Guidi nelle terre di Romagna (secoli IX-X)*, in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secc. IX-XII*), Roma 1996 (Nuovi Studi Storici, 39), pp. 211-240.

R. Savigni, *I papi e Ravenna. Dalla caduta dell'Esarcato alla fine del secolo X*, in *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2/2, *Dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana. Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, ed. A. Carile, Ravenna 1992, pp. 331-368.

R. Savigni, Memoria Urbis. *L'immagine di Ravenna nella storiografia di età carolingio-ottoniana*, in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, vol. 2, Spoleto 2005 (Congressi internazionali del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 17), pp. 615-701.

E.M. Schoolman, *Inheriting Identity and Constructing History in Medieval Ravenna*, in *Visions of Medieval History in North America and Europe*, ed. C.M. Booker, H. Hummer, D.M. Polanichka, Turnhout 2022, pp. 107-128.

E.M. Schoolman, *Local Networks and Witness Subscriptions in Early Medieval Ravenna*, in «Viator», 44 (2013), pp. 21-41.

E.M. Schoolman, *Nobility, Aristocracy, and Status in Early Medieval Ravenna*, in *Ravenna: its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, ed. J. Herrin, J. Nelson, London 2016, pp. 211-238.

E.M. Schoolman, *Representations of Lothar I in the* Liber pontificalis Ravennatis, in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, ed. G. De Angelis, F. Veronese, 111-26, Florence 2022, pp. 111-126.

V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine Heritage, the Imperial Present, and the Construction of City Identity*, Oxford 2021.
C. Wickham. *Early Medieval Italy. Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000*, London 1981 (New Studies in Medieval History).
G. Zanella, *Ferrara*, in *Repertorio della cronachistica Emiliano-Romagnola (secoli IX-XV)*, ed. A. Vasina, Rome 1991, pp. 159-205.

Edward M. Schoolman
University of Nevada, Reno (USA)
eschoolman@unr.edu
0000-0002-1416-1222

Framing the Beneventan aristocracy in the first half of the ninth century

by Giulia Zornetta

In 849 the factional struggle between Radelchis and Siconulf ended with an agreement, which was actively sought by Louis II, in order to stabilise the political competition in Lombard Southern Italy and to help lead a coordinated military campaign against the Muslims. It sealed the division of the principality of Benevento into two different political bodies, resulting in the transformation of the Beneventan political system and the weakening of the local aristocracy, who previously had a marked urban profile as well as properties spread throughout the territory of the principality. This paper aims to outline the profile of the Beneventan elite before the *pactum divisionis,* by focusing on its relationship with public power, military identity, and patrimonial dimension.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Lombard Southern Italy; competition; urban elite; patrimonial wealth; military identity.

Giulia Zornetta, University of Padua, Italy, giulia.zornetta@unipd.it, 0000-0001-8028-8267

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Giulia Zornetta, *Framing the Beneventan aristocracy in the first half of the ninth century*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.17, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 289-309, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations
CDL IV/2 = *Codice diplomatico longobardo, IV/2: I diplomi dei duchi di Benevento*, ed. H. Zielinski, Roma 2003 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 65).
CDL V = *Codice diplomatico longobardo, V: Le chartae dei ducati di Spoleto e di Benevento*, ed. H. Zielinski, Roma 2003 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 66).
CS = *Chronicon Salernitanum. A critical edition with studies on literary and historical sources and on language*, ed. U. Westerbergh, Lund 1956 (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 3).
CSBC = *Cronicae Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. L.A. Berto, Firenze 2006.
CSS = *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae (cod. Vat. Lat. 4939)*, ed. J.-M. Martin, Roma 2000 (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores III serie, 3).
CV = *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, 3 vol., ed. V. Federici, Roma 1925 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 58-60).
MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).
MGH, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* = *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. H. Hoffmann, Hannover 1980 (MGH, SS, 34).
MGH, DD Karol. I = *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Grossen*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, Hannover 1906 (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1).
MGH, Erchempert, *Historia* = *Erchemperti historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz, G. Waitz, Hannover 1878, pp. 231-264 (MGH, SS rer. Lang., 1).
MGH, LL 4 = *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannover 1868 (MGH, LL, 4).
MGH, SS 3 = *Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Saxonici*, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannover 1839 (MGH, SS, 3).
MGH, *Vita Barbati* = *Vita Barbati episcopi Beneventani*, ed. G. Waitz, Hannover 1878, pp. 555-563 (MGH, SS rer. Lang., 1).
RPD = *Registrum Petri Diaconi (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Reg. 3)*, ed. J.-M. Martin et al., Roma 2015 (Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale, Antiquitates, 45).

1. *Introduction*

In 849, the *pactum divisionis* between Radelchis of Benevento and Siconulf of Salerno brought an end to a long-standing struggle of factions in Lombard Southern Italy. The agreement was reached after ten years of internal conflicts within the Beneventan elite, which followed the death by conspiracy of Prince Sicard (832-839). The mediation of both Duke Guy of Spoleto and King Louis II of Italy, to whom Emperor Lothar had assigned the leadership of a military campaign against the Muslims a few years earlier[1], was crucial for reaching a settlement between the parties.

Finding a mutual arrangement for the Beneventan situation, which was traditionally characterized by competition and endemic conflict within the Lombard elite, was certainly a prerequisite for the Frankish military campaign to be successful. However, the mediating role played by Louis II and his agent was also functional in reframing Carolingian authority in this part of the Italian peninsula, whose relationship with the Frankish world remained deliberately ambiguous long after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard Kingdom in 774[2]. Alongside the commitment to fight against the Muslims,

[1] MGH, Capit. II/2, pp. 65-67.
[2] Bertolini, *Carlo Magno e Benevento*, pp. 609-671; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 111-127; Zornetta, Semper ero liber, pp. 135-141.

in 849 Louis II secured peace and stability by promoting the division of Lombard Southern Italy into two separate political entities, the principality of Salerno and the principality of Benevento, thus presenting himself as an impartial and higher authority in this area[3].

The names of the subscribers of the *pactum divisionis* are not reported together with the text of the treaty, which is transmitted exclusively through two Monte Cassino manuscripts, but they are included in the tenth century *Chronicon Salernitanum*[4]. Identification remains difficult for most of them, but it is possible to catch a glimpse of the members of Beneventan families who, in previous years, were the main players in the competition for power as narrated by the chronicles. The list includes the new Prince of Benevento, Radelchis (839-851), and his sons and future princes, Radelgarius (851-854) and Adelchis (854-878), along with one of the most important members of the urban elite, Dauferius the Mute, with his two sons, Maio and Guaiferius. Next to them appears a certain Roffrit, possibly a descendant of another important kin group of Lombard Southern Italy, that of Dauferius the Prophet and another Roffrit, who was Prince Sicard's *referendarius*, probably dead by 849[5]. According to the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, Count Radoald is to be identified with an ancestor of its anonymous author and a supporter of Sicard's brother, the new Prince of Salerno, Siconulf (839-851). The list also includes a Pandonulf, who may be associated to the kin group of the Landulfids, the counts of Capua, and a Sadutto, who probably also came from Capua. His family is to be identified with the powerful group related to Prince Radelchis, whose members were completely purged by Count Landulf the Elder of Capua (815-843) according to the ninth century Erchempert's chronicle[6]. Although the name is rather common, it is possible that Toto was precisely the *thesaurarius* to whom Prince Radelchis granted two diplomas between 839 and 840[7].

[3] Delogu, *Strutture politiche e ideologiche nel regno di Lodovico II*, pp. 178-181; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 226-231.

[4] CS, 84b, pp. 86-87; Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne*, pp. 256-260. The text of the *pactum divisionis* is transmitted in ms Vat. Lat. 5001, ff. 143v-147v; ms. Casinensis 175, ff. 581a-586b and edited in MGH, LL 4, pp. 221-225; Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 201-217.

[5] According to Ulla Westerbergh, Roffrit's funerary epitaph was written before the conspiracy against Prince Sicard because it still describes him as an insider of the *palatium*. This scenario could not have taken place following the *pactum divisionis* of 849, when Radelchis definitively assumed the princely title in Benevento. Westerbergh, *Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry*, pp. 37-39. Consequently, the homonymous Roffrit mentioned among the witnesses of the treaty cannot be identified with this one, but possibly be a descendant of him. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne*, p. 257.

[6] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, 15, p. 240. The *Rhytmus de captivitate Hludovici imperatoris* also mentioned a man named Sadutto as a participant in the Beneventan assembly: Russo Mailler, *La politica meridionale di Ludovico II*, p. 9. This may imply that those who survived the operation led by Landulf abandoned Capua and moved permanently to Benevento, where they could rely on their kinship with Prince Radelchis. On Landulf the Elder, see Cilento, *Le origini della signoria*, p. 82.

[7] CSS III, n. 35 (839 XI, Benevento), pp. 542-544; n. 36 (840 X, Benevento), pp. 544-545. See also CS, 84, p. 85.

Moreover, some names of Frankish origin, and quite rare in the onomastic panorama of Southern Italy – for example, Ingeprandus – suggest there were also members of Louis II's entourage, or at least some Spoletans, among the witnesses of the *pactum divisionis*.

A major turning point in the history of Southern Italy, this treaty was the result of the first and only intervention of the Carolingian rulers in the political balance of the principality of Benevento, an intervention which had important consequences for its highly centralized political system and therefore for the regional elite that participated in it. This paper focuses precisely on the Beneventan elite during the first half of the ninth century, i.e. before Louis II's intervention in Southern Italy, and looks only briefly in conclusion at the consequences of the *pactum divisionis* for its members. It aims to offer an overview of the political, military, and economic dimensions of this social group, which also included those who witnessed the treaty in 849, especially by outlining its connection to public power and participation in local competition.

Three kinds of sources have been considered in this regard. First, the chronicles, especially Erchempert's *Ystoriola* and the anonymous *Chronicon Salernitanum*, which are both rich in information about the Beneventan elite, its relationship with the princes, and the competition that took place in the capital city. In contrast with Paul the Deacon, who illustrated the glorious history of the Lombards, Erchempert did not describe the Lombards' success, but their misfortunes, as an example to posterity[8]. Unquestionably, his pessimistic approach was related to the late ninth century military and political context, when Muslim presence was again putting pressure on the Lombard principalities and the abbey of Monte Cassino was plundered. As a monk of this community, Erchempert severely blamed the Beneventan elite for having become divided into factions, criticizing above all the unscrupulous strategy of the Landulfids, who were able to establish a personal dominion over Capua during the second half of the ninth century[9]. According to this author, the lack of unity was the main source of the Lombard political and military weakness and thus he provided a narrative of internal conflicts and competition for power.

On the contrary, the *Chronicon Salernitanum* does not present such an impassioned moral judgement. Its author, an anonymous monk living in Salerno during the second half of the 10th century, was remarkably well informed about what happened in Benevento in the previous century, possibly relying on both Erchempert's *Ystoriola* and other narratives of the events, which have not reached us[10]. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* gives an account of the pursuit of public resources, lucrative offices, and social prominence by the members of the local elite in the princely court. The Prince of Benevento

[8] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, I, pp. 234-235; Berto, *Erchempert, a Reluctant Fustigator of his People*, pp. 147-175.
[9] Loré, *Uno spazio instabile*, pp. 341-360.
[10] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, pp. 63-67.

is frequently portrayed while mediating aristocratic competition in a society where the circulation of wealth appears to have been largely controlled and regulated by public authority. He carefully balanced out his gifts, thus stressing his higher political authority by preserving the symmetry between different parties while ensuring their loyalty[11].

However, chronicles also attested that Lombard princes actively participated in the internal political competition. This resulted not only in their ability to mediate becoming weaker the more they were involved, but also in the conscious use of conflict as a means to achieve their own political and/or contingent goals[12]. For example, Grimoald IV (806-817) and Sicard failed to control the local competition and even triggered conflict by favouring one group over others. In the first half of the ninth century, therefore, Beneventan competition often escalated into violence and conspiracies against the prince, to rebalance the political arena by building new networks within the elite[13].

While chronicles narrate episodes of both clashes and cooperation among the members of the lay aristocracy, who tried to gain influence and power in Benevento, they also recount the princes' strategies to strengthen their public authority in such a highly competitive political context. Some of these strategies can also be traced in diplomas, which are transmitted in the 12th century cartularies of the most important abbeys of the area – Santa Sofia di Benevento, Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno. The same three cartularies also transmitted some donations of land and/or private churches made by the members of regional and local elites, which provide an insight into the social practices and wealth of these groups.

2. *Dwelling in the City:* Königsnähe *and participation to public power*

During the first half of the ninth century, the Beneventan aristocracy was a group acting at a regional level while keeping a markedly urban profile. As recent research has already shown, the *palatium* had a leading role in structuring both political and social life in Lombard Southern Italy, thus becoming the stage for local competition. Vito Loré's extensive studies on public resources and their redistribution in this area revealed that fiscal assets were regularly shared by the public authority with the officials, who were appointed by the duke of Benevento, then by the prince, both for court and peripheral charges[14]. Loré explained in detail how the *palatium* maintained for a long

[11] Bougard, Bührer-Thierry, Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge*, p. 1103. See also Le Jan, *Les élites carolingiennes et le roi*, pp. 335-346.
[12] See, for example CS, 59, pp. 58-59; 61, p. 60.
[13] Zornetta, *Competizione politica, congiure e violenza*, pp. 147-152.
[14] Loré, *Beni principeschi e partecipazione al potere nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*, pp. 15-40; Loré, *Spazi e forme dei beni pubblici nell'alto medioevo*, pp. 62-68. See also Collavini, *Duchi e società locali*, pp. 150-153; Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, pp. 338-339, 344-345.

time a central role in the allocation of public resources, preventing in this way the emergence of local powers and, to a certain extent, also controlling local societies[15]. Although the language of the charters describes more the nature and size of fiscal land than its management and the jurisdictional rights of the officials appointed to its supervision, the identity of the Beneventan elite was certainly based not only on the enjoyment of these resources, but also on a range of other prerogatives, including military and political ones. Among them was certainly real participation in public power as described in the chronicles, in which the attendance at the palace and the relationship entertained directly with the prince played a preeminent role[16].

Although there is no mention of large assemblies on the same model as described in the sources of Northern Italy, the higher members of the Beneventan elite definitely participated in the decision-making process in a restricted council, as attested by the narrative sources[17]. This council took place in the palace and assisted the prince, including in the passing of new laws, as occurred during the reign of Adelchis. Dated to 866, the prologue of Adelchis' laws indicates that he was accompanied by Bishop Aio of Benevento, who was his brother, as well as by counts, abbots and «caeteros magnates nostros»[18]. By contrast with other early medieval *regna,* and first and foremost with the tradition of the Lombard Kingdom, there is no mention here of an assembly of armed freemen, nor of a *populus*, nor even of *iudices*, i.e. those who held public office[19]. Although the idea of a broad council was part of the very representation and ideology of the Lombard assembly, nevertheless narrower circles are also mentioned in the eighth century laws. Both King Liutprand's and King Aistulf's prologues describes a similar, reduced council, generally involving only the *iudices* and the king's *fideles*[20]. Likewise, the Prince of Benevento is only attested by a group of selected individuals, to whom a distinctive position in the social hierarchy is attributed and for whom the personal connection to him is emphasised.

Narrative sources suggests that the link between social status and participation in the public sphere resulted in a certain tendency for elite members to reside in Benevento, as they were well aware of the dangers when spending

[15] Loré, *Spaces, power and local societies*, p. 126.
[16] Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, p. 344; Bougard, Bührer-Thierry, Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge*, p. 1091.
[17] In addition to the episodes reported in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, see also the *Rhytmus de captivitate Hludovici imperatoris* in Russo Mailler, *La politica meridionale di Ludovico II*, pp. 9-10.
[18] MGH, LL 4, p. 210.
[19] MGH, LL 4, *Edictus Rothari*, 386, p. 89; *Leges Liutprandi regis*, 1/I, p. 108; 14/VIII, p. 113; *Incipit de anno XIX*, p. 155; Cortese, *Thinx, garethinx, thingatio*, p. 38; Wickham, *Consensus and Assemblies*, p. 401-402.
[20] MGH, LL 4, *Leges Liutprandi regis*, Incipit de anno V, p. 109; Incipit de anno IX, p. 116; Incipit de anno XII, p. 128; Incipit de anno XIV, p. 135; Incipit de anno XVI, p. 141; Incipit de anno XVII, p. 150; Incipit de anno XXII, p. 169; *Leges Ahistulfi regis*, De anno V. Incipit prologus, p. 198.

too much time outside the city[21]. Both these aspects are especially underlined in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, which narrates a significant episode in this regard. One of the main protagonists of the political life in Benevento in the early ninth century, Count Radelchis of Conza, realised that Prince Sico (817-832) wanted to cut him off from the game of politics, a fact made visible not only when the latter chose to give his daughters as brides to other parties, but also when he deliberately took important decisions in council while Radelchis was out of the city settling administrative issues in his district[22]. The members of the Beneventan elite who were appointed to be in charge in peripheral seats, such as count and gastald, were thus probably not residing in the territory they administered, but only received an income from it, while staying for most of their time in the capital city[23]. Similarly to them, the holders of court offices also obtained a revenue from a specific fiscal unit, such as *Marpahis* Arechis, who is attested in a diploma recalling the landed estate assigned to him, while it is describing the boundaries of a *gualdo* granted to Monte Cassino by Prince Sicard in 837[24].

Another episode reported in the *Chronicon Salernitanum* narrates the choice of Gastald Sico, an outsider who would later become prince, to reside in Acerenza as something atypical. This was motivated by the tensions that arose in the Beneventan palace following his appointment to one of the most important centres of Lombard Southern Italy. Located in modern-day Basilicata, Acerenza was prominent for both its strategic position and the opportunity it granted to maintain a large retinue by means of distribution of rich fiscal assets[25]. Consequently, Sico's position was coveted by other members of the Beneventan elite, who complained about the choice made by Prince Grimoald IV, and even tried to put the new gastald in a bad light under the

[21] On the dwelling of Lombard aristocracies in the cities of Central and Northern Italy: Wickham, *Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy*, pp. 158-159; Gasparri, *The Aristocracy*, pp. 82-84; Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della Langobardia*, pp. 540-547; Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana*, pp. 54-62.

[22] CS, 54, pp. 54-55. Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, p. 117; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, p. 161-165.

[23] Collavini, *Duchi e società locali*, pp. 150-153; Loré, *I gastaldi nella Puglia longobarda*, pp. 256-257. Although some peripheral officials of the first half of the ninth century are called *comes* by the chronicles, this seems to have been an honorary title, which referred to those appointed to the most important centres, such as Capua and Conza, who had greater prestige and power. Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, pp. 114-115. See also CS, 47, pp. 48-49.

[24] RPD II, n. 197, p. 578 (837 V, Benevento). It is not clear what kind of public role the *marpahis* had in the Southern Italy, but probably he originally looked after the Duke of Benevento's horses. Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, p. 344. Gasparri argued that later he could have managed the fiscal resources allocated to the princes' relatives and closer collaborators, while Loré underlined that the *marpahis*, as well as other public officers in the eighth and ninth centuries, had probably less to do with the actual administration of a territory than with an income on certain fiscal assets. Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, pp. 121-122; Loré, *I gastaldi nella Puglia longobarda*, p. 256.

[25] CS, 43, pp. 44-45; Loré, *I gastaldi*, pp. 266-268. Concerning the strategic role of Acerenza and Conza see also: Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne*, pp. 291-293; Di Muro, *Dinamiche insediative*, pp. 197-198; Filippone, *L'alta valle del Sele*, pp. 28-44.

pretext of a hunting campaign conducted beyond the allowed boundaries[26]. In the long run, however, Sico's choice to retreat to Acerenza was deemed as a provocation by the prince himself, who requested his presence back in the capital city to help negotiate a dispute with Count Radelchis of Conza, and even moved the Beneventan army against him. This episode suggests that attendance at the palace was not only considered essential by members of the elite, who based their status and political role upon the *Königsnähe* and participation to public power, but also by the prince, who needed to retain close ties with the highest Beneventan aristocracy to prevent coups and regulate political competition.

The most profitable positions in administrative districts, such as Conza and Acerenza, could also be assigned to the prince's relatives. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* narrates that Ursus and Radelmondus, who married two of Prince Sico's daughters, were appointed gastalds of precisely these fortified centres[27]. Although the sources are lacking in information about them, their marriage possibly provided a ladder of social ascent since both these officials enjoyed extensive power and could rely on many armed men[28]. The diplomas prove that members of the prince's kin group frequently intervened to request his generosity on behalf of others, resulting in a certain political influence within the palace. Among them was Gastald Azzo of Lucera, who was the husband of another of Prince Sico's daughter, Sichelenda, and appears as an intercessor during the early years of the reign of his brother-in-law, Sicard[29]. His role as an intermediary to the ruler's largesse probably triggered the competition with another official, Roffrit, who served as *thesaurarius* during the same period[30].

First attested in ducal diplomas from the mid-eighth century onwards, the *thesaurarius* also played a key role in supervising the prince's use of his wealth[31]. It is thus likely that this position allowed the creation of extensive personal clienteles due to its proximity to the centre of power, clienteles that could end up supporting the *thesaurarius* in gaining access to the political summit. During the first half of the ninth century, this happened in at least two cases, that of Grimoald IV and Radelchis, who both held this office before their accession to the princely title[32]. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* ascribes to Grimoald another role, that of *storesayz/stolesayz*, i.e. «qui ante obtutibus

[26] CS, 43-46, pp. 43-48. Zornetta, *Competizione politica, congiure e violenza*, pp. 144-145.
[27] CS, 55, pp. 55-56; Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, p. 117; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 167-168.
[28] The military role of gastalds in Southern Italy is attested in some episodes of the *Chronicon Salernitanum*: CS, 44-47, pp. 45-49; 130, pp. 142-143; 183, p. 184.
[29] CSS VI, n. 32, pp. 766-767 (833 IV, Benevento); Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, pp. 114-117.
[30] CS, 59, pp. 58-59.
[31] CDL IV/2, n. 15, pp. 51-53 (740 III, Siponto) and n. 33, pp. 112-114 (751 I, Benevento): Ursus *thesaurarius*.
[32] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, 7, p. 237; CSS I, n. 28, pp. 382-385 (835 III, Benevento); III, n. 14, pp. 503-504 (832 X, Benevento); III, n. 32, pp. 536-538 (833 X, Benevento).

principis seu regibus milites hic inde sedendo perordinat[33]». According to the same narrative, Grimoald first earned the prince's favour during the war against King Pippin and the Franks thanks to his personal merit in battle[34]. Only occasionally attested in documentary sources[35], the *storesayz* could thus have been linked with the military sphere, but most probably played a role in approaching the prince's person, thereby achieving a significant authority in the palace. Such a prominent position was then confirmed some years later by giving Grimoald the prestigious office of *thesaurarius*.

Although the prince's relatives had considerable influence in the palace, in the first half of the ninth century the most important court positions, those of *thesaurarius* and *referendarius*, were never in their hands, and were instead assigned to other members of the Beneventan elite, who belonged to the most powerful Lombard families and already had political and social weight in the capital. The title of *referendarius* is also attested in the previous century and has been traditionally associated with the head of the chancery[36]. In the first half of the ninth century, however, it more likely referred to the highest dignitary of the court. From a cross-analysis of both diplomas and chronicles, it seems that this office was granted to people who already had a leading role in Beneventan politics and who were chosen as the prince's main advisors in this position[37]. This was the case with Roffrit, who provides an example of a genuine career development inside the palace offices during the first half of the ninth century. He was first *thesaurarius* and was then appointed *referendarius* by Prince Sico[38]. In 821, Radelchis of Conza was also mentioned in this post, an earlier document referring to him simply as a gastald and *fidelis* of Prince Sico[39]. According to Erchempert, in 817 Radelchis organised a conspiracy against Prince Grimoald IV and replaced him with Sico, who was gastald of Acerenza at that time[40]. The *Chronicon Salernitanum*, however, narrates that other members of the Beneventan elite also took part in the conspiracy, including Sico himself and Roffrit. Although Radelchis had previously had a conflicting relationship with Sico, the organisation of the conspiracy proves the ability of elite members to cooperate when faced with the need to rid themselves of a controversial prince[41]. According to this chronicle, since the majority of the Beneventan *populus* supported Radelchis's election, it was

[33] CS, 38, p. 39; Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, pp. 338-339.
[34] CS, 51-52, pp. 52-54.
[35] CSS III, n. 25, pp. 520-522 (752 XII, *Ad Rosito*).
[36] CDL IV/2, n. 3, pp. 11-15 (715 [730?] VII, Benevento): Ursus *duddus* and *referendarius*; n. 4, pp. 15-20 (718 X, *in gualdo ad Biferno in palatio*): Persius *vicedominus* and *referendarius*; n. 5, pp. 20-24 (719 I, Benevento): Ursus *referendarius*; Zielinski, *Introduzione diplomatistica*, pp. 35-46; Bertolini, Actum Beneventi, pp. 175-188.
[37] Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 169-170.
[38] CSS III, n. 8, pp. 493-494 (821 VI, Benevento).
[39] CSS I, n. 26, pp. 379-380 (821 VIII, *Saba*): *referendarius* and *fidelis*; II, n. 21, pp. 473-474 (817 XI, Benevento): gastald and *fidelis*.
[40] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, 9, p. 238.
[41] Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 147-160.

only the pressure from Roffrit that would have brought Sico to the head of principality[42]. Both these accounts attest that Radelchis acted as the most influential member of the aristocracy, possibly not only because he was appointed *referendarius* but also because he already had a prominent position in the city, which ensured him a wide network of supporters.

3. Fidelitas *and military duties: some notes on Beneventan warrior identity*

As attested by the examples of Azzo of Lucera and Radelchis of Conza, the relationship between the prince and his officials was not only restricted to the grant of both charges and fiscal revenues within the administrative framework, but was also strengthened by personal bonds, such as kinship or fidelity. Even if recent research underlined the centrality of public authority in the political and social configuration of Lombard Southern Italy[43], these personal bonds were also necessary to confirm the prince's preeminence, especially when established with players that were already prominent in the arena of Benevento. According to the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, for example, Prince Sico was encouraged to engage in intermarriage with the Capuan elite after the Landulfids, who held the comital office, founded a new city, Sicopolis[44]. Both kinship and fidelity ties were thus crucial to regulate social and political hierarchies in a context marked by intense competition such as the Beneventan one.

Although the specific content of *fidelitas* in Southern Italy remains unknown[45], it was certainly common for the members of the prince's retinue to be the beneficiaries of his generosity and to act as intermediaries for it, as is shown by the Lombard diplomas transmitted to us in the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*[46]. Jean-Marie Martin pointed out that a greater number of *fideles* is attested in documentary sources from the second half of the ninth century, whereas the charters of the earlier period feature people largely defined by public charges[47]. Although there is no lack of earlier evidence of bond of *fidelitas*, this remark appears significant considering the transformation of the Lombard elite in Southern Italy after 849, when the *pactum divisionis* led to a duplication of the princely court in Benevento and Salerno, and perhaps also

[42] CS, 53, p. 54.
[43] Loré, *Spaces, power and local societies*, pp. 119-129; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 73-78.
[44] CS, 58, p. 58; Marazzi, *Città scomparse*, pp. 264-267.
[45] Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, pp. 113-114; Martin, *Éléments préféodaux*, pp. 563-566.
[46] The *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* contains a certain number of diplomas attesting a prince's *fideles* acting as intercessors: CSS I, n. 35, pp. 395-396 (858 III, Benevento); II, n. 5, pp. 437-439 (808 I, Benevento); II, n. 17, pp. 466-468 (882 II, Benevento); II, n. 21, pp. 473-474 (817 XI, Benevento); n. 22, pp. 475-476 (876 II, Benevento); III, n. 19, pp. 509-510 (882 VII, Benevento); n. 20, pp. 511-512 (881 VII, Benevento); III, n. 38, pp. 547-548 (881 I, Benevento).
[47] Martin, *Éléments préféodaux*, p. 565.

to a devaluing of palatine offices. In the second half of the ninth century, social players qualified themselves above all as the ruler's kin or *fideles*, proving a shift in the relationship between public authority and local elites, as well as an overall change in the functioning of the political arena.

During the first half of the ninth century, among those who had a personal link with the prince were also the *gasindi*, one of them being attested in a diploma granted by Sicard in 833[48]. According to the Lombard laws, they were bound to the ruler by a formalized relationship of patronage, which is also attested by gifts from eighth century documentary sources from northern Italy[49]. Since Sicard's diploma represents the last evidence of a prince's *gasindius* in Lombard Southern Italy, however, this specific relationship could have gradually disappeared after the first half of the ninth century. Certainly, it was not replaced by other bonds of fidelity borrowed from the Frankish world, such as vassalage. In 849, the reference to the princes' «honorati ac vassalli»[50] attested in the *pactum divisionis,* appears to have been more the result of the Frankish mediation to the treaty than an accurate description of the relationship between the Lombard princes and their followers. As argued by Jean-Marie Martin, the language used in the pact could reflect the attempt by Louis II and Guy of Spoleto to instill vassalage into Southern Italy, an attempt that did not, however, prove successful[51].

The bond of *fidelitas* could also bear a military connotation, such as a *charta convenentiae* from June 766 seems to suggest. It contains a dispute between the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno and the heirs of Alahis, a *fidelis* of Duke Gisulf II (731-732, 742-751), over certain landed estates that had previously belonged to Duke Godescalc (739-742). The charter narrates, without entering into much detail, that Gisulf *fideles* acted as an armed retinue when Duke Godescalc was dethroned and killed in 742[52].

Since evidence of military service rendered by laymen is scarce in this area, it is not easy to define the role of either the urban elite or of the prince's retinue in the Beneventan army. The aristocracy probably shared a military identity and supplied the army with the largest part of the horsemen, i.e. those who were trained in military practice[53]. The *Vita Barbati episcopi Beneventani*, a hagiographical text possibly written during the ninth century, specif-

[48] CSS III, n. 14, pp. 503-504 (832 X, Benevento); Martin, *Éléments préféodaux*, p. 561.
[49] MGH, LL 4, *Leges Ratchis regis*, 14, p. 193; Tabacco, *La connessione fra potere e possesso*, pp. 152-154; Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza*, pp. 680-681, 699-700.
[50] Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, c. 27, p. 214; Leicht, *Gli honorati*, pp. 98-102.
[51] Martin, *Éléments préféodaux*, pp. 561-563.
[52] CDL V, n. II/7, pp. 362-367 (766 VI, Benevento); Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 67-73. On the military function of Lombard retinues, see: Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza*, pp. 676-678.
[53] As pointed out by Giovanni Tabacco and Stefano Gasparri, the armed freeman, the *arimannus*, was essentially a horseman in eighth century Lombard Italy: Tabacco, *Dai possessori*, pp. 254-255; Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza*, pp. 674-675. Explicit mentions of horsemen in the Beneventan army can be found in narrative sources, see for example: CS, 80b, p. 79.

ically stressed the horsemanship of members of the urban elite, providing a fascinating narrative of a competitive race, which started and ended under a sacred tree located just outside the wall of the capital city[54]. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* also describes a close association between aristocracy and horses, which often represent a visible expression of honour[55]. An episode concerning Dauferius, one of the most powerful men in Benevento during the reign of Grimoald IV, is especially revealing on this point. According to the chronicle, a serf spilled the water Dauferius used to wash himself out of the window and hit some noblemen's horses. Since these men were members of the prince's kin-group and could afford to face someone of his social status, they decided to take revenge and save their honour by cutting the tail of Dauferius' horse, which was perceived as a great offence[56]. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* contains other significant episodes concerning the equestrian and military vocation of the Beneventan elite, such as the public performance of horseriding exercises[57]. Equally interesting is the narrative of a gift exchange that took place between Prince Sicard and Roffrit, who asked for a complete armour, including sword, helmet, lance and shield, after successfully collecting tributes in Calabria and Apulia[58].

Besides these allusions to a military identity, however, the sources for Lombard Southern Italy remain remarkably elusive in relation to the involvement of the elite in the army, and do not provide any insight into recruitment, which could still follow the model that had been established by King Aistulf around the mid-eighth century[59]. As attested in a Carolingian diploma from 871, public officials certainly played a role in it[60]. After the fall of the Emirate of Bari, Emperor Louis II released the *gastaldani* of Monte Sant'Angelo from their military obligations and they entered Bishop Aio of Benevento's service to rebuild a castle which had been sacked by the Muslims[61]. They were freemen, who had been previously recalled to their public duties under the local gastald's leadership. According to Jean-Marie Martin, the recruitment of the Beneventan army remained fully functional only until the first half of the ninth century, when it started to decline, mostly because of

[54] MGH, *Vita Barbati*, 1, p. 557; Martin, *À propos de la Vita de Barbatus*, pp. 137-164. The date of its has been recently rediscussed in Corrubolo, *Una nuova ipotesi di datazione*, pp. 47-62.
[55] Provesi, *The Longue durée of a Symbolic System*, pp. 1-24; La Rocca, Zornetta, *Quanto erano longobardi*, pp. 54-55. See also: CS, 38, p. 39.
[56] CS, 49-50, pp. 50-52; MGH, LL 4, *Edictus Rothari*, 338, p. 77; Zornetta, *Competizione politica, congiure e violenza*, pp. 141-143.
[57] CS, 81, pp. 80-81.
[58] CS, 69, pp. 66-67.
[59] MGH, LL 4, *Leges Ahistulfi regis*, 2-3, p. 196. Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza*, pp. 674-675. Recently, on the Lombard army: Berndt, *Military organization*, pp. 63-79; Gasparri, *Gens germana gente ferocior*, pp. 152-164.
[60] The role of Lombard *iudices*, i.e. public officials, in both recruitment and exemption from military service is attested in the eighth century Lombard laws: MMGH, LL 4, *Leges Liutprandi regis*, 83/XIV, pp. 140-141; *Leges Ratchis regis*, 4, pp. 184-185; *Leges Ahistulfi regis*, 7, p. 197. See also, Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza*, pp. 672-675.
[61] *Le più antiche carte*, 3, p. 10-12 (871 V 29, Benevento).

the division of the principality in 849[62]. On the contrary, narrative sources, especially the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, record the Lombard princes' ability to gather troops at least until the beginning of the 10th century[63]. Louis II's diploma also proves that the downturn of extensive employment of freemen in the army did not necessarily occur with the division of the principality but could have been gradual.

Nevertheless, the use of Muslim mercenaries during the early ninth century factional struggle, and the inadequacy exhibited on many occasions by the Beneventan army, which are widely attested in the chronicles, may be the sign of a major difficulty in recruitment[64]. Since freemen were still required to do military service, this difficulty probably related to the decrease in number of war specialists[65]. Despite claiming a warrior identity, or at least an equestrian identity, the aristocracy of Lombard Southern Italy was probably not capable of satisfying its military needs. Undoubtedly, this could depend on the regular and therefore expensive war efforts required of them. During the first half of the ninth century alone, the Beneventan army carried out several campaigns against the Neapolitans, and repeatedly faced attacks first from the Frankish army led by King Pippin and then from the groups of Muslims who attempted to conquer Southern Italy for more than a century between the ninth and the tenth centuries. Although successes were not inconsiderable, first against the Frankish army and, on several occasions, against the Neapolitans, the military effort needed was probably beyond Beneventan means[66]. Maintaining large retinues of armed warriors in battle, especially horsemen, required extensive economic resources as well as an overall social effort, which could have been difficult to coordinate in the increasingly competitive and violent milieu of ninth century Lombard Southern Italy.

4. *Distributing wealth, forging relationships: the patrimonial basis of the Beneventan elite*

Alongside their proximity to public power and military identity, an important feature in the definition of the early medieval elites was wealth, and especially land possession[67]. According to the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, be-

[62] Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 46-47.
[63] CS, 72, pp. 70-71; 80b, p. 79; 93, p. 93; 95, p. 95; 155, p. 162; Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 68-69.
[64] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, 17, p. 241; CS, 81, p. 80; CSBC II/7, pp. 20-21; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 269-270.
[65] Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 46-47.
[66] Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 173-180; Zornetta, Semper ero liber, pp. 149-152.
[67] On the interplay between social status, wealth and the relationship with public power in the aristocracy of the Lombard kingdom: Wickham, *Early medieval Italy*, pp. 129-136; Gasparri, *Il regno longobardo in Italia*, pp. 82-88. See also Tabacco, *La connessione fra potere e possesso*,

fore becoming Prince of Benevento, Sico openly expressed this weakness by saying to Roffrit «the land is yours, therefore I am in your power[68]». As a refugee in Southern Italy, he could only rely on the fiscal assets granted to him by the prince as gastald of Acerenza, but this was not sufficient to turn him into a member of the Beneventan aristocracy, since ownership of extensive land patrimonies was also required. Due to the relative scarcity of documentary sources transmitted to us, however, this aspect is difficult to investigate for the Principality of Benevento in the first half of the ninth century, but it is possible to draw a general outline by slightly broadening the chronology. The most influential kin-groups could rely on an economic background consisting of family properties, often large in number and distributed throughout the territory of the Lombard principality, as well as of income from fiscal assets, which were allocated by the prince through public charges[69].

Both public officials and *fideles* often benefited from donations of landed properties, slaves or buildings in Benevento. For example, in 858 Adelchis granted to his *fidelis* Ursus both the properties of a man who had died without any heirs and a tower located in the city, near the Porta Summa, which had previously been held by Audoald, a notary and judge[70]. Besides, some episodes narrated by Erchempert and the *Chronicon Salernitanum* attested to the practice of exchanging gifts between the prince and the aristocracy, which seems to have had less of an economic value as a social one[71]. However, grants such as those recorded in the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* reveal the princes' concern to strengthen their bond, not only with the highest elite of the city, but also with other members of Beneventan society, who seem to belong to a middle or, at least an upper-middle, class and maybe be less involved with political competition and struggles.

In a fairly similar way to the prince, the members of the elite also distributed either fiscal or personal goods to consolidate their retinue. For example, the relationship between Gastald Sico and the men of Acerenza previously mentioned was established precisely via the distribution of fiscal properties. On the contrary, Abbot Alfanus was able to gather an extensive following in the capital city probably using his own resources or those related to his religious office[72]. His blatant attempt to build a clientele by

pp. 133-168; Gasparri, *Grandi proprietari e sovrani*, pp. 429-442; Gasparri, *Mercanti o possessori?*, pp. 157-162; Wickham, *Aristocratic power in eighth-century Lombard Italy*, pp. 161-162.

[68] CS, 48, pp. 49-50.

[69] Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, p. 114.

[70] CSS I, n. 35, pp. 395-396 (858 III, Benevento). The *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* also transmitted other diplomas on behalf of a prince's *fidelis*: CSS III, n. 6, pp. 489-491 (793 VIII, *in curte Saba*); n. 20, pp. 511-512 (881 VII, Benevento); n. 34, pp. 540-541 (839 X, Benevento); n. 37, pp. 545-546 (855 V, Benevento).

[71] MGH, Erchempert, *Historia*, 9, p. 238; CS, 28, pp. 30-31; 38, pp. 39-40; 51, p. 53; 54-55, pp. 54-56; 68, p. 65; 85, p. 87; 91, p. 91.

[72] CS, 62, p. 60; Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, p. 120; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 166-173. On the members of the elite's largesse: Le Jan, *Prendre, accumuler, détruire les richesses*, pp. 365-382; Patzold, *Noblesse oblige?*, pp. 139-154.

distributing food and clothing led him to enter into rivalry with one of the most influential personalities of Beneventan society, Roffrit. Even if his entourage belonged to the urban middle-lower class, Alfanus, a man not otherwise attested and whose profile remains enigmatic, was perhaps trying to exhibit a social status which the highest members of the palatine elite would not recognize, leading these to complain about his behaviour in front of the prince. As attested by Roffrit's funerary epitaph, which portrayed him precisely as someone able to sustain a large entourage thanks to his generosity and friendliness, the Beneventan aristocracy distinguished itself by being able to maintain retinues, which meant having enough financial resources to bind a group of people to them[73].

A dossier of donations on behalf of two of the most important monasteries in the area, Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno, allows us a glimpse of the patrimonial wealth of the Beneventan elite in the first half of the ninth century. Between the late eighth and mid ninth century, both abbeys became particularly attractive to lay society, probably because of the increased prestige they gained from Carolingian patronage[74]. Such interest towards these monasteries did not arise immediately after the conquest of the Lombard Kingdom, but slowly developed after Charlemagne's grants of immunity in 787[75]. As suggested by Chris Wickham, it is likely that the economic growth of San Vincenzo al Volturno, which is confirmed to have occurred at this period also by archaeological findings, was based more on these lay endowments than on gifts and rights granted by public authorities[76].

Early ninth century land donations greatly varied in size and geographical distribution. The most conspicuous ones concerned estates disseminated in various areas of the principality, thus not necessarily concentrated in a specific location, suggesting potentially large and widespread family patrimonies. Such are for example, those of Radeprandus, Alahis and the Gastald Stephanus to San Vincenzo al Volturno, and that of the *Marpahis* Peter, who made a grant for the benefit of all the three major monasteries of the Lombard Southern Italy, Santa Sofia in Benevento, San Vincenzo al Volturno and Monte Cassino[77]. The significant investment made by these individuals, as well as the broad geographical horizon in which they acted, places them among the

[73] MGH, SS 3, p. 469. On the contrary, the *Chronicon Salernitanum* portrays Roffrit as a non-benevolent person and an oppressor of the poor: CS, 48, p. 49.
[74] Del Treppo, *La vita economica e sociale*, pp. 35-37.
[75] MGH, DD Karol. 1, n. 158, pp. 213-216 (787 III 28, Rome); n. 159, pp. 216-217 ([787]). Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno were among the first religious foundations to be granted immunity by Charlemagne in the Italian peninsula. The only other monastic foundation to receive it in the earlier Carolingian period was the Novalesa abbey, which is located in a major transit area in the Western Alps. West, *Charlemagne's involvement*, pp. 350-361; Davis, *Charlemagne's practice of empire*, pp. 219-229.
[76] Wickham, *Monastic lands and monastic patrons*, pp. 142-144.
[77] CV I, n. 34, pp. 249-251 (800? I 31); n. 36, pp. 253-254 (815 IX); n. 43, pp. 263-265 (817 III, Benevento); n. 47, pp. 269-270 (802 X, Benevento). See also the elite's patrimonies in Apulia: Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, pp. 177-179; Loré, *I gastaldi*, pp. 262-264.

upper ranks of the Lombard aristocracy[78]. They probably were at the same social level as Poto, whose landed estates were organised into no less than 48 *curtes*. Although it is difficult to locate all the properties enlisted in his *breve recordationis*, which probably dates to the mid-ninth century but is transmitted through a later manuscript, it turns out that they were distributed throughout the territory of the whole principality[79].

Among the goods gifted to Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno by lay people, there are also private churches. As recent historiography has largely highlighted, these foundations were closely linked to the devotional and social practices of the early medieval elites through being a major investment in the preservation of family memory and patrimony[80]. In Lombard Southern Italy, many of them were offered either to the palace or to major monasteries by their founder or his immediate successors, thereby establishing an association with prestigious regional and lay institutions[81]. One of the earliest donations of a private church to Monte Cassino dates to the mid-eighth century and relates to San Cassiano *in Cingla*. This church was founded in the territory of Alife by a *sculdhais*, Saracenus, and then offered to the abbey[82]. In 797, Gastald Guacco also donated the church of San Benedetto in Benevento to Monte Cassino to strengthen the relationship he had already established with the abbey a few years earlier, following his call to the army and the oblation of his son Guachipert[83].

The offerings made by Guacco are also relevant in that they show an official who owned residential buildings in Benevento, thus confirming the idea that the Beneventan aristocracy resided in the city while having landed properties located elsewhere. Other documents reveal a similar situation for other people dwelling in Benevento during the eighth and ninth centuries. For example, a certain Wadulf, who left some of his belongings to the Beneventan palace *per thingatio*, had at least a house and a piece of land in the capital city while also owning livestock and landed properties near the river Saccione, in eastern Molise[84]. In 820, Trasemundus also offered to Monte Cassino both the houses he had inherited in Benevento and numerous landed estates distributed in the modern-day territories of Caserta, Benevento and Avellino[85].

[78] On the widespread land holdings and mobility of early medieval elites: Le Jan, *Conclusions*, pp. 399-406; Bougard, Bührer-Thierry, Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 1088-1089.
[79] Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung*, pp. 53-55; Feller, *L'économie des territories de Spoléte et de Bénevént*, p. 227; Di Muro, *Curtis, territorio ed economia*, p. 119.
[80] Le Jan, *Il gruppo familiare di Totone*; La Rocca, *Le élites, chiese e sepolture familiari*.
[81] Wood, *The proprietary church*, pp. 28-30; Zornetta, *La società beneventana allo specchio*. See also Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale*, pp. 327-328.
[82] RPD II, n. 172, pp. 527-529 (745 X, Benevento); n. 173, pp. 530-531 (743 VIII, Alife); MGH, *Casinensis*, 6, pp. 28-29.
[83] RPD II, n. 179, pp. 543-546 (797 I, Benevento); MGH, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, 14, pp. 50-52; 18, pp. 60-62; Di Muro, *Economia e mercato*, pp. 34-37.
[84] CDL IV/2, n. 16, pp. 54-59 (742 II, Benevento); n. 25, pp. 86-90 (745 IX, Benevento); Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 37-46.
[85] RPD II, n. 187, pp. 557-558 (820 V 5, Benevento). See also Suabili's donation to the abbey of Monte Cassino in the second half of the ninth century: RPD II, 200a, p. 597.

Alongside these generous offerings, monastic cartularies attested to other kind of donors, who seem to have had a lower profile, that of landowners rooted mostly at a local level[86]. However, their offerings to Monte Cassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno reveal the integration of people of a lesser social and economic background into the same broad, regional network to which the Beneventan aristocracy also belonged. Both the nature and scarcity of the deeds only allow a glimpse of what must have been a scattered panorama made up of landed estates of different distribution and size[87]. Beside ecclesiastical properties and the fiscal domain, which was extensive and, in some cases, grouped into large blocks, the Beneventan elite's landed properties must have been mostly dispersed across different sites and divided into several units, whereas those of local landowners were comparatively smaller and mainly located in the same area.

Several studies have pointed out the inadequacy of taking only the holders of public charges into account when studying the elites[88]. However, not a few of the donors attested in these charters are qualified precisely as public officers: *marphais*, gastald, *sculdahis*[89]. Although their public functions did not necessarily mark these people out as members of the highest aristocracy of the capital city, it still means that being appointed to a charge by the public authority represented one of the defining factors for both palatine and local elites in Lombard Southern Italy, together with the possession of considerable landed property.

5. *Conclusions*

Despite the presence of certain members of the Carolingian elite among the witnesses to the *pactum divisionis* of 849 and during the military campaigns of Louis II in Southern Italy, the Beneventan aristocracy did not have a close relationship with that of the central and northern part of the Italian peninsula, and stayed almost isolated, especially during the first half of the ninth century. If its remoteness was somewhat balanced during the eighth century by the marriages between the local dukes and the female members of

[86] RPD II, n. 305 [*Sculdahis* Forti], pp. 915-916 (807 X, Taranto); n. 396 [*Sculdahis* Aripertus], pp. 1126-1127 (809, Taranto). See the profile of minor officials outlined for Apulia and Nocera, in the Salerno area: Loré, *I gastaldi nella Puglia longobarda*, pp. 260-265; Loré, *Sculdasci e gastaldi*, pp. 125-128.

[87] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 293-301; Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, pp. 348-352; Di Muro, Curtis, territorio ed economia, pp. 111-138.

[88] See at least Gasparri, *I gruppi dominanti nell'Italia longobarda e carolingia*, pp. 39-46; Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale*, pp. 319-322.

[89] Beside those already mentioned see: RPD II, n. 188, pp. 559-560 (830 VII, Benevento): Gastald Rodegarius; n. 194, p. 572 (795 or 810 IV, Taranto): Gastald Rodegarius; CV I, nn. 40-41, pp. 257-259 (812 I, Benevento): Gastald Maio. Loré, *I gastaldi nella Puglia longobarda*, pp. 260-265; Di Muro, *Curtis, territorio ed economia*, pp. 120-123. On these public charges in Lombard Southern Italy see Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, pp. 121-122.

northern Lombard aristocracy, the period following the Carolingian conquest broke such connections[90]. During the first half of the ninth century, both the princes of Benevento and the urban elite focused on consolidating their role by taking part in competitive dynamics as well as in a circuit of redistribution of public resources, which both appeared to be highly centralized up to 849.

The division of the principality of Benevento and the *de facto* crystallisation of the factional struggle that arose from competition within the palace had important consequences not only for the political geography of Southern Italy but above all for the social dimension of the Lombard regional elite. The *pactum divisionis* caused the dissolution of a centralized political system by splitting it in two smaller networks, one of them centred on Benevento and the other one on Salerno, from which a third pole, Capua, then emerged during the second half of the ninth century. Even leaving aside the issues linked to the Muslim attempts at conquest and Louis II's later military campaigns, the birth of a second capital city, Salerno, and the participation to a circuit of redistribution that was only half of the previous one[91], led to the weakening of Lombard Southern elite, at least from a political and military standpoint. On the contrary, its patrimonial wealth, which relied on landed estates distributed throughout the whole of Lombard Southern Italy, was guaranteed by the *pactum divisionis*[92]. Political competition also underwent some major transformations. Since the circuit of players became split across many centres and thus restricted, the conflict became progressively less violent. In the second half of the ninth century, both in Benevento and Capua, political struggles seem to have been played out exclusively between members of the kin-group in power, leaving other players aside, mostly acting in peripheral or ancillary roles[93].

During the second half of the ninth century, the higher Beneventan aristocracy, which had previously been marked by a distinctive urban profile and an intense participation in public power, thus fragmented into a tripartite political system, where the most important link with public authority started to become that of kinship.

[90] Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 24-25.
[91] Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, c. 21, pp. 210-211.
[92] *Ibidem*, c. 14, p. 207.
[93] Loré, *Uno spazio instabile*, pp. 341-360; Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*, pp. 293-294. See also: Martin, *Éléments préféodaux*, pp. 570-571.

Works cited

G.M. Berndt, *Military organisation as an indicator of militarisation (and demilitarisation) in Lombard Italy*, in *Early medieval militarization*, ed. E. Bennett, G.M. Berndt, S. Esders, L. Sarti, Manchester 2021, pp. 63-79.

L.A. Berto, *Erchempert, a reluctant fustigator of his people: history and ethnic pride in Southern Italy at the end of the ninth century*, in «Mediterranean studies», 20 (2012), pp. 147-175.

O. Bertolini, *Carlo Magno e Benevento*, in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1, *Das Geistige Leben*, ed. B. Bischoff, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 609-671.

P. Bertolini, Actum Beneventi. *Documentazione e notariato nell'Italia meridionale langobarda (secoli VIII-IX)*, Milano 2002.

F. Bougard, G. Bührer-Thierry, R. Le Jan, *Les élites du haut Moyen Âge: identités, stratégies, mobilité*, in «Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales», 4 (2013), pp. 1079-1112.

A. Castagnetti, *Le aristocrazie della Langobardia nelle città e nei territori rurali*, in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali*, Spoleto 2009 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 56), pp. 539-619.

N. Cilento, *Le origini della signoria capuana nella Longobardia minore*, Roma 1966.

S.M. Collavini, *Duchi e società locali nei ducati di Benevento e di Spoleto nel secolo VIII*, in *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*, Spoleto 2004 (Congressi internazionali del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 16), pp. 125-166.

S.M. Collavini, *Spazi politici e irraggiamento sociale delle "élites" laiche intermedie (Italia centrale, secoli VIII-X)*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination,* ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007, pp. 319-340.

F. Corrubolo, *Una nuova ipotesi di datazione della Vita Barbati episcopi Beneventani*, in «Rivista Storica del Sannio», 25 (2006), pp. 47-62.

E. Cortese, *Thinx, garethinx, thingatio, thingare in gaida et gisil*, in «Rivista di storia del diritto italiano», 61 (1988), pp. 33–64.

M.E. Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana. Sette secoli (VII-XII)*, Spoleto 2017.

Die Chronik von Montecassino, ed. H. Hoffmann, Hannover 1980 (MGH, SS, 34).

J.R. Davis, *Charlemagne's practice of empire*, Cambridge 2015.

M. Del Treppo, *La vita economica e sociale in una grande abbazia del Mezzogiorno. San Vincenzo al Volturno nell'alto medio evo*, in «Archivio storico per le province napoletane», 74 (1956), pp. 31-110.

P. Delogu, *Strutture politiche e ideologiche nel regno di Ludovico II*, in «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e Archivio muratoriano», 80 (1968), pp. 137-189.

A. Di Muro, *Curtis, territorio ed economia nel Mezzogiorno meridionale longobardo (secoli VIII-IX)*, in «Quaderni Friulani di Archeologia», 18 (2008), pp. 111-138.

A. Di Muro, *Dinamiche insediative nel Mezzogiorno longobardo altomedievale (secc. VI-VII). Una traccia*, in *Studi sul Mezzogiorno longobardo. Insediamenti e trasformazione del paesaggio tra i secoli VI e X*, ed. A. Di Muro, F. La Manna, Olevano sul Tusciano 2012, pp. 185-214.

A. Di Muro, *Economia e mercato nel Mezzogiorno longobardo (secc. VIII-IX)*, Salerno 2009.

L. Feller, *L'économie des territories de Spoléte et de Bénevént du VI^e^ au X^e^ siècle*, in *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento*, Spoleto 2004 (Congressi internazionali del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 16), pp. 205-242.

N. Filippone, *L'alta valle del Sele tra tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo*, Napoli 1993.

S. Gasparri, Gens Germana gente ferocior: *Lombards and warfare between representation and reality*, in *Early medieval militarization*, ed. E. Bennett, G.M. Berndt, S. Esders, L. Sarti, Manchester 2021, pp. 152-164.

S. Gasparri, *Grandi proprietari e sovrani nell'Italia longobarda dell'VIII secolo* in *Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà longobarda*, Spoleto 1980 (Congressi internazionali del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 7), pp. 429-42.

S. Gasparri, *I gruppi dominanti nell'Italia longobarda e carolingia*, in «Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen- Âge, Temps modernes», 100 (1988), 1, pp. 39-46.

S. Gasparri, *Il ducato e il principato di Benevento*, in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 2/1, *Il Medioevo*, ed. G. Galasso, R. Romeo, Napoli 1988, pp. 83-146.

S. Gasparri, *Il regno longobardo in Italia: struttura e funzionamento di uno stato altomedievale*, in *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia: archeologia, società, istituzioni*, ed. S. Gasparri, Spoleto 2004, pp. 1-92.

S. Gasparri, *Mercanti o possessori? Profilo di un ceto dominante in un'età di transizione*, in *Carte di famiglia. Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721-877)*, ed. S. Gasparri, M.C. La Rocca, Roma 2005, pp. 157-178.
S. Gasparri, *Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza in Italia in età longobardo e carolingia*, in «Rivista storica italiana», 98/3 (1986), pp. 664-726.
S. Gasparri, *The Aristocracy*, in *Italy in the early middle ages*, ed. M.C. La Rocca, Oxford 2002, pp. 59-84.
M.C. La Rocca, *Le élites, chiese e sepolture familiari tra VIII e IX secolo in Italia settentrionale*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007, pp. 259-272.
M.C. La Rocca, G. Zornetta, *Quanto erano longobardi i Longobardi meridionali? Sepolcreti e pratiche funerarie nel ducato di Benevento (secoli VI-VII)*, in «Archeologia medievale», 49 (2022), pp. 45-61.
R. Le Jan, *Conclusions*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VI^e^ au XI^e^ siècle)*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007, pp. 399-406.
R. Le Jan, *Les élites carolingiennes et le roi au milieu du IX^e^ siècle. Statut et fidélité*, in *Völker, Reiche und Namen im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. M. Becher, S. Dick, Paderborn 2010, pp. 335-346.
R. Le Jan, *Il gruppo familiare di Totone: identità e strategie patrimoniali*, in *Carte di famiglia. Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721-877)*, ed. S. Gasparri, M.C. La Rocca, Roma 2005, pp. 13-28.
R. Le Jan, *Prendre, accumuler, détruire les richesses dans les sociétés du haut Moyen Âge*, in *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. J.P. Devroey, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2010, pp. 365-382.
Le più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento (668–1200), ed. A. Ciaralli, V. De Donato, V. Matera, Roma 2002 (Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia medievale, Regesta chartarum, 52).
P.S. Leicht, *Gli honorati nella Divisio Ducatus Beneventani*, in «Studi medievali», 8 (1935), pp. 98-102.
V. Loré, *Beni principeschi e partecipazione al potere nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*, in *Italy, 888-962. A turning point*, ed. M. Valenti, C. Wickham, Turnhout 2014 (Seminari internazionali del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo, 4), pp. 15-40.
V. Loré, *I gastaldi nella Puglia longobarda*, in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2012 (Congressi internazionali di studi sull'alto medioevo, 20), pp. 249-274.
V. Loré, *Sculdasci e gastaldi. Note sugli ufficiali minori nel principato di Salerno nei secoli IX-XI*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 18 (2017), 1, pp. 123-138.
V. Loré, *Spaces, power and local societies in the Lombard Duchy of Benevento*, in *La construcción de la territorialidad en la Alta Edad Media*, ed. I. Martín Viso, Salamanca 2020, pp. 119-129.
V. Loré, *Spazi e forme dei beni pubblici nell'alto medioevo. Il regno longobardo*, in *Spazio pubblico e spazio privato tra storia e archeologia (secoli VI-X)*, ed. G. Bianchi, M.C. La Rocca, T. Lazzari, Turnhout 2018 (Seminari internazionali del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo, 7), pp. 59-88.
V. Loré, *Uno spazio instabile. Capua e i suoi conti nella seconda meta del IX secolo*, in *Les élites et leurs espaces. Mobilité, Rayonnement, Domination*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2007, pp. 341-360.
F. Marazzi, *Città scomparse, migrate, sdoppiate. Riflessioni sul tessuto insediativo di Terra di Lavoro in età altomedievale*, in Felix Terra. *Capua e la Terra di Lavoro in età Longobarda*, ed. F. Marazzi, Cerro al Volturno (Isernia) 2017, pp. 259-274.
J.-M. Martin, *Éléments préféodaux dans les principautés de Bénévent et de Capoue (fin du VIII^e^ siècle-début du XI^e^ siècle): modalités de privatisation du pouvoir*, in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X^e^-XIII^e^ siècles). Bilan et perspectives de recherches*, Actes du Colloque de Rome, 10-13 octobre 1978 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 44), Rome 1980, pp. 553-586.
J.-M. Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge*. Pacta de Liburia, divisio principatus Beneventani *et autres actes*, Roma 2005 (Sources et documents d'histoire du Moyen Âge, 7).

J.-M. Martin, *La Longobardia meridionale*, in *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia: archeologia, società, istituzioni*, ed. S. Gasparri, Spoleto 2004, pp. 327-366.
J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Roma 1993 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 179).
J.-M. Martin, *À propos de la Vita de Barbatus, évêque de Bénévent*, in «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes», 86 (1974), 1, pp. 137-164.
S. Patzold, *Noblesse oblige? Se distinguer par l'emploi des richesses au haut Moyen Âge*, in *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. J.P. Devroey, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2010, pp. 139-154.
W. Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung. Montecassino und die Gestalgung der langobardischen Vergangeheit*, Wien-München 2001.
C. Provesi, *The longue durée of a symbolic system: mounted warriors and horses in the* Chronicon Salernitanum, in «The Haskins Society Journal», 29 (2018), pp. 1-24.
C. Russo Mailler, *La politica meridionale di Ludovico II e il* Rhythmus de captivitate Ludovici imperatoris, in «Quaderni medievali», 14 (1982), pp. 9-10.
G. Tabacco, *La connessione fra potere e possesso nel regno franco e nel regno longobardo* in *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII*, Spoleto 1972 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 20), pp. 133-168.
G. Tabacco, *Dai possessori dell'età carolingia agli esercitali dell'età longobarda*, in «Studi medievali», s. III, 10 (1969), 1, pp. 221-268.
H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX^e-XI^e). Pouvoir et societé en Italie lombarde méridionale*, Roma 1991 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 152).
A. Thomas, *Jeux lombards: alliances, parenté et politique en Italie méridionale de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la conquête normande*, Roma 2016 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 501).
G.V.B. West, *Charlemagne's Involvement in Central and Southern Italy*, in «Early Medieval Europe», 8 (2003), 3, pp. 341-367.
U. Westerbergh, *Beneventan ninth century poetry*, Stockholm 1957.
C. Wickham, *Aristocratic power in eighth-century Lombard Italy*, in *After Rome's fall. Narrators and sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A.C. Murray, Toronto 1998, pp. 153-170.
C. Wickham, *Consensus and assemblies in the Romano-Germanic kingdoms: a comparative approach*, in *Recht und Konsens im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. V. Epp, C.H.F. Meyer, Ostfildern 2017, pp. 389-424.
C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society, 400-1000*, London 1981.
C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford 2005.
C. Wickham, *Monastic lands and monastic patrons*, in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, vol. 2, *The 1980-86 Excavations*, ed. R. Hodges, Roma 1995, pp. 138-152.
S. Wood, *The proprietary church in the Medieval* West, Oxford 2006.
H. Zielinski, *Introduzione diplomatistica*, in *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, vol. 4/2, *I diplomi dei duchi di Benevento*, ed. Herbert Zielinski, Roma 2003 (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 65), pp. 3-171.
G. Zornetta, *Competizione politica, congiure e violenza. Il principato di Benevento nella prima metà del secolo IX*, in *Storie di violenza. Genere, pratiche ed emozioni tra medioevo ed età contemporanea*, ed. F. Ferrando, M.C. La Rocca, G. Morosini, Roma 2020, pp. 135-154.
G. Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda. Competizione, conflitto e potere politico a Benevento (secoli VIII-IX)*, Roma 2020.
G. Zornetta, Semper ero liber, credo, tuente Deo. *Pippin, Grimoald III, and Lombard Southern Italy*, in Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia (781-810)*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2023, pp. 131-154.
G. Zornetta, *La società beneventana allo specchio. Chiese private e fondazioni ducali nei secoli VIII e IX*, in *Lingue, scritture e società nell'Italia longobarda. Un percorso di sociolinguistica storica*, ed. R. Delle Donne, E. D'Argenio, R. Sornicola, Napoli (in corso di pubblicazione).

Giulia Zornetta
University of Padua (Italy)
giulia.zornetta@unipd.it
0000-0001-8028-8267

Conclusions

by Stefano Gasparri

The age of Lothar was of fundamental importance for the evolution of the ruling classes in Italy, both in the Italic kingdom and in the areas not included within it. The essays collected in this book investigate this evolution through the examination of a series of case studies, which highlight the diversity of the various local situations, particularly between the areas of the kingdom itself and the former Byzantine areas. One of the main points examined is that of the timing and importance of the penetration of immigrants from north of the Alps into Italian society, with the consequent exclusion of the Lombards from the most important positions of power. An important theoretical point examined in the book is also the discussion around the concepts of aristocracy and élites, and what meaning they have if applied to the members of the ruling classes in Italy in Lothar's time.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Lothar; aristocracy; élites; Italic kingdom; northern immigrants; former Byzantine Italy; principality of Benevento.

Stefano Gasparri, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy, gasparri@unive.it, 0000-0002-1374-504X

Referee List (DOI 10.36253/fup_referee_list)
FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Stefano Gasparri, *Conclusions*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3.18, in Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, pp. 311-319, 2025, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Abbreviations
MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).
MGH, Capit. II = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius, V. Krause, Hannover 1897 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/2).

The preface has already clearly identified the framework within which the authors of the essays collected in this book have operated.[1] In these conclusions, the remaining problems and open questions can be further emphasized. It has been written – albeit in a very different thematic context from the one treated here, but with a general value – that «those who want to codify the meanings of words fight a losing battle», as words, like the ideas and things they seek to express, have a history[2]. This is undoubtedly true for the battle over the definition and concept of aristocracy. As historians, we suffer from the lack of a codified and universally recognized lexicon, as is the case in the hard sciences, and instead use words that carry their own historical baggage. After Marc Bloch's studies, we no longer use, for the early Middle Ages, the term nobility, having replaced it with aristocracy[3]. As far as the Carolingian age is concerned, the use of the term *Reicharistokratie* (or *Reichsadel*), which is also used by some authors in this book, has come to the fore. However, this term is not neutral; it does not simply indicate the upper echelon of the aristocracy serving imperial power. It originates from the prosopographical studies of Gerd Tellenbach and his school and basically refers to a rigid dynastic model of a patrilineal, agnatic type.

However, using such a term contradicts – precisely because of its history – the model of aristocracy that emerges from reading this book. Instead of a rigid model of patrilineal lineages and closed dynastic groups, at the highest levels perhaps separated by birth from other classes, the book presents an image of an open élite, integrated within a network of relationships with numerous nodes throughout society. In this framework, women played a much greater role in the construction of aristocratic groups than was previously recognized. Some particularly prominent figures emerge, as showed by Cristina La Rocca, especially queens, who embodied different models and had their own networks of *fideles*. Moreover, monasteries and their landed wealth were included in the assets granted to queens in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Italy, thus shaping these women's responsibilities as administrators of public resources[4]. However, when moving away from this high level, the documentation we have sometimes makes it more difficult to grasp the role played by women in constructing élites.

[1] The apparatus of notes will be very limited and references to sources and bibliography already cited by the authors of the essays will not normally be made.
[2] Scott, *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, p. 1053.
[3] The reference is to the distinction made by Bloch in *La société féodale* (ed. it. Bloch, *La società feudale*, pp. 323-376).
[4] Reference can be made to Lazzari, *Dotari e beni fiscali*, and Lazzari, *On the Special Uses of Public Property*.

Returning to the problem of definitions, the issue becomes more complicated if, as François Bougard has well pointed out and as is the case in this book, the term aristocracy has to be compared with the term élite, which has gained importance in medieval studies in recent years[5]. This is evidenced by the series of volumes on early medieval élites from the early 2000s, the result of a French-Italian research project. The term élite, borrowed from the social sciences, always has a relational value, as it refers to the upper stratum of any human group, even far from the top echelons of society. For this reason, "élite" does not eliminate the need to use a term like "aristocracy". Despite everything, the two terms can coexist and establish a mutual relationship. This is demonstrated by the case-studies analyzed by the authors of the essays on Lucca (members of diocesan élites aiming at the aristocracy) or Veneto-Friuli (exponents of the old and new Lombard aristocracy confronting newcomers) show.

It is evident that our definitions are artificial, not least because the various levels of the upper strata of society communicated with each other through different channels. We are not dealing with an immobile society. Monasteries come to the fore here: as Francesco Veronese wrote in his paper, all monasteries were effectively "in the middle", since they were founded to attract donations of land from landowners in exchange for the prayer services performed by the monks, fostering the creation of vast political and social networks around them. Monasteries also represented a kind of gateway through which central powers could insert themselves into local societies, engaging directly with lower-ranking élite members.[6]

As we permanently abandon the reassuring patterns of the past, we are bound to multiply the characteristics needed to define and distinguish the various levels of the élites: wealth, birth, hierarchical relevance, *Königsnähe* – whose importance is evident for example in the case of the Supponids studied by Igor Santos Salazar –, access to public office, vassalage ties with kings and emperors, relationship with fiscal assets, connection with monasteries, potential urban nature, lifestyle; multi-regional, regional, sub-regional, local scope of action. Moreover, in the contributions on Tuscany (by Manuel Fauliri and Paolo Tomei) the classification proposed for Tuscany by Simone Collavini, based on very concrete elements, was adopted, outlining four levels of wealth and activity, exercised on a local, diocesan and regional basis, or alongside the king or emperor.

Of all the elements that characterize the aristocracy and that we have listed, lifestyle and military activity have been left very much in the background, due both to the shape of the book and, thus consequently, to the type of documentation used. Nonetheless, the military aspect is highlighted by the case of the Aldobrandeschi and the Farolfingi, studied by Paolo Tomei, two families whose members during the ninth century appear both as *vassi* and as counts.

[5] The first volume of this series appeared in 2006: *Les élites au Haut Moyen Âge*.
[6] Wood, *The Christian Economy*.

Indeed, two of them, Eriprand I and Farolfus I, commanded contingents of the "second *scara*" during Louis II's 847 southern Italian expedition against the Saracens. At this point, it is interesting to mention that a codex from the monastery of Sankt Paul im Lavanttal in Carinthia, written in Italy between 813 and 825, contains – in a later addition – a list of one hundred and sixty-four men, representing the census of the adult male population of a county in preparation for military mobilization. According to Stefan Esders, the codex belonged to a count of Emilia Romagna (probably the count of Piacenza or, alternatively, of Modena) and was compiled in preparation of Louis II's aforementioned 847 expedition[7]. In Lothar's capitulary containing the mobilization order, the count of Piacenza, Wilfrid, and the count of Modena, Autramn, are listed among the eight commanders of the "second *scara*" and are furthermore designated as standard-bearers (*signiferi*)[8]. This is the same group in which Eriprand I and Farolfus I were present. This extraordinary testimony allows us, on the one hand, to see the use of the written word in the administration of the county, and on the other hand, it further highlights the relationship between aristocracy and war, which is central in defining aristocratic identity: the counts were military commanders[9].

With regard to lifestyle, Italian sources address it primarily when prohibitions are imposed. For instance, capitularies, from the one in Mantua in 813, to that of Pavia in 850, forbade bishops (and with them, all clergy and monks) from hunting with dogs, sparrow hawks and falcons, or from attending hunts, from taking excessive care of horses, from attending any game, and from wearing luxurious clothing. These prohibitions reveal not only the behaviour of bishops but also those of aristocratic laymen[10]. At the highest level, the display of aristocratic luxury is represented by the image of Queen Ermengarda, splendidly dressed at the christening of her daughter Rotruda. Lifestyle and military activity thus complete the image of the aristocrats of Lothar's age and explain why the *timidus* Hugh of Tours – who barely dared to leave his house – or Guy of Spoleto, who was too moderate in food, did not seem suitable for their role within aristocratic society.

Military rituals, also typical of the aristocracy, must not be overlooked. Although we know little about them in Italy, they must have been practiced. I have recently provided some examples elsewhere[11]. In the rest of the Carolingian world, there is even mention of the beginnings of knighthood, but in Italy there is no Nithard, that is, a writer who, due to his personal background, was particularly sensitive to such phenomena[12]. However, we must also take this

[7] Esders, *Deux* libri legum, pp. 79-84.
[8] The capitulary reporting the mobilization for the 847 expedition is in MGH, Capit. II, n. 203, pp. 165-168.
[9] On this, see also Gasparri, *I Franchi e la guerra*.
[10] MGH, Capit. I, n. 92, 6, p. 195, and MGH, Capit. I, n. 228, 3-4, p. 117.
[11] Gasparri, *Rituali di potere*, pp. 113-120 and p. 135.
[12] Nelson, *Ninth Century Knighthood*.

aspect into account, as it must have been crucial in shaping the male identity of the aristocracy[13]. In a different, but no less important dimension, we must finally also consider the use of the Caroline minuscule in documents by counts and bishops, as investigated by Gianmarco De Angelis and Laura Pani, as a conscious manifestation of belonging to the upper class.

The key element examined, common to all contributions on the Italic kingdom, however, was the penetration of transalpine immigrants into Italy, who progressively occupied the highest positions in society. One well-highlighted aspect is that, for many immigrants from beyond the Alps, Italy remained only a temporary phase of their lives. In this regard, the type of analysis recently conducted by Paul Predatsch is very interesting. Using the tools of modern migration sociology, he examined the phenomenon of transalpine immigrants in Italy, identifying different types, among which the "return migrants" are particularly significant, that is, those who do not settle down, but return beyond the Alps. This is an important factor to consider when evaluating the role of immigrants, especially in the light of later developments.

From a chronological perspective, the proposal made at the beginning of the book by François Bougard is confirmed by various territorial investigations, from the north to the centre: the transalpine migrants occupied almost all the main public offices in the age of Lothar, which led to the marginalization of the indigenous Lombard element, removed from the most important offices (counts, bishops). This phenomenon, which is evidenced by a Northern-style onomastics (of Franks, Alamanni, Bavarians), was, however, much slower than previously thought. Predatsch has also demonstrated the unfoundedness of many ethnic identifications made in the past, emphasizing that much more attention must be paid to all the elements present in the sources that reveal a person's connection to territories north of the Alps – something Hlawitschka did not sufficiently consider. Certainly, onomastics can be used as a means of identifying the origin of individuals, but when not supported by other elements, caution is necessary before drawing conclusions[14]. These observations reaffirm the persistence of the indigenous element within the group of public officials until the third decade of the ninth century. The Lombard element appears to be important particularly in the northeastern area studied by Leonardo Sernagiotto: although the Friulan élite had suffered a harsh repression, that in the area of Verona still retained significant patrimonial resources. In contrast, even in the first half of the 9th century, transalpine immigrants appeared to have little connection with this territory.

Connected to the dialectic between immigrants and the Lombard aristocracy is the issue of vassalage. As mentioned, in Lothar's time the Lombards were excluded from the upper levels of the public hierarchy. For instance, Bougard highlights that in every succession of bishops whose Lombard origin

[13] The reference is to the recent volume *Early Medieval Militarisation*.
[14] Predatsch, *Migration im Karolingischen Italien*, pp. 51-52 and pp. 76-100.

can at least be presumed, the successor was with certainty of transalpine origin. However, the Lombards still found space within vassalage. Thus, there was no complete replacement of the Lombards, as was once believed, even if – according to all contributors – the vassals occupied a lower level than the aristocracy. It is, however, difficult to resolve the issue of a possible continuity between the Lombard *vassi* and the *gasindi*, which, in my opinion, is quite unlikely.

It is also worth emphasizing that vassalage, tied to the system of military benefices (which did not exist in Lombard Italy), initially functioned in the opposite way, as a means for the Franks to assert themselves and control the conquered territory. Examples of this are the benefice granted by the *baiolus* Rotchild to the Bavarian Nebulungus in Pistoia, or the military benefices carved out of the lands of Bobbio – all structures dismantled once the first decades had passed[15]. Therefore, the vassalage-benefices system appears to have been a flexible institution, adaptable to different contexts and carrying different political implications at different times.

A key concept in the book is the penetration of the Franks into the different local societies. From this perspective, the élites of the former Byzantine areas, in Rome, Ravenna, Venice (also in Naples, although it is less studied) are different from those of the *regnum Italiae*, regardless of whether they were part of it or not[16]. In Rome, there was never a permanent Frankish presence; in Ravenna, as Edward Schoolman has pointed out, integration of post-exarchal ruling families with Frankish (and Lombard) outsiders took place, but peacefully, through marriages. Of course, in Venice, which remained outside the Italic kingdom, there were no insertions from the kingdom into the ruling class, although in the 10th century, through marriages of members of the ducal family, connections were established with the kingdom's aristocracy. Consequently, the "Lothar moment" (as Bougard called it), primarily linked to the evolution of the kingdom's élites, does not carry the same weight in the peripheral or external areas of the kingdom, even if Lothar (and Louis II) influenced these territorial realities to some extent. For example, it was precisely during the Lothar period that the aforementioned Frankish penetration into Ravenna's aristocracy began, while in Rome, the imperial power's relationship with the aristocracy became increasingly significant, as demonstrated by Veronica West-Harling.

However, the difference of the aristocracies of the former Byzantine areas is even more profound, because they were markedly city élites, compared to those of the kingdom. Their political action revolved entirely around the palace and local power, embodied by the pope, the archbishop of Ravenna or the Venetian duke, from whom they – certainly at least in the case of Rome and Ravenna – received the management of most of the land they had at their

[15] Gasparri, *The Dawn of Carolingian Italy*.
[16] See the overview provided by West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*.

disposal[17]. Remarkable is the case of Rome, where, as shown by Maddalena Betti, on the occasion of the writing of the life of Leo IV, the aristocracy holding palace offices managed to influence even the official representation of his papacy in the *Liber pontificalis*.

A similar evolution to that of the former Byzantine cities occurred in *Longobardia minor* around the prince. The first point to be made is that in the south, too, the age of Lothar and Louis II directly influenced the evolution of the aristocracy. Giulia Zornetta has highlighted well the fact that the *Divisio* of 849 marked the end of the previous political system, splitting the political network linked to the prince of Benevento into two smaller ones, in Benevento and Salerno, to which Capua was later added. This division significantly weakened the aristocracy, and in the second half of the century, kinship ties with the prince's family became crucial.

In the south, the aristocracy was urban (Beneventan, later also Salernitan), palatine (holding office) and, at the highest level, owned estates throughout the principality. For this reason, when the principality was divided into two distinct entities, the impact on the aristocracy and its holdings was severe[18]. The southern Lombard aristocrats were entirely dependent on local office appointments (counts, gastalds) granted by the prince, but they resided in the capitals, participating in political decisions alongside him. Their military identity, however, remains less clear[19]. It would be interesting to understand why the evolution of the Lombard south, already moving in this direction even before 774, was so different from the rest of the kingdom. Strong ties with the Byzantine lands of the south and with Byzantium itself may offer an initial explanation.

Returning to the former Byzantine Italy, the Lothar period was also significant due to the famous pact of 840 with the Venetian duchy. I discussed this pact at the recent conference on Carolingian frontiers, included in this same series of volumes, so I refer back to it[20]. These last two examples highlight that the period of Lothar's rule was important not only for the increased presence of immigrants from the North, but also for the military and political action that led to the two pacts I just mentioned, both of which influenced the evolution of local aristocracies.

To conclude, some remarks on Venice, to which I dedicated my recent studies. A proper discourse on the Venetian aristocracy for the 9th century is impossible due to a lack of evidence. In the following century, the aristocracy appears in the sources, but its origins are difficult to trace – whether rooted

[17] These topics were discussed within the conference *I beni del fisco regio nell'Italia medievale: continuità e cambiamenti, secoli IX-XII*, held in Ravenna (January 25-27, 2024), the proceedings of which are currently being published.
[18] Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda*.
[19] On the problem of the military weakness of the southern Lombard aristocracy, Martin, *Èlements préféodaux*.
[20] Gasparri, *Border Pacts and frontier areas*.

in trade (which grew significantly after Lothar's pact) or in the old Byzantine political-military offices, or both. One fact that immediately emerges is that the relationship with the mainland existed as early the 9th century, as Anna Rapetti has shown, including landownership, and it is one of profound interaction. For ties with the landed aristocracy, on the other hand, we will have to wait until – as I have already mentioned – the 10th century.

In Venice, the only aristocratic element known to us since the 9th century is the duke, and therefore we can put him under the magnifying glass[21]. It is known that his characteristic profile is somewhat different from mainland aristocrats: see duke Justinian's will from 829, where profits from the sea trade are mentioned, albeit alongside landed property and rule over men. The same dual elements emerge if we examine the earliest known ritual of election of a Venetian duke, dating from 887 (but certainly older): it included the handing over to the duke of sword, staff and seat, symbolizing military function, executive power, and the exercise of justice; apart from the third symbol (of ancient tradition, but also found, however, in Lombard burials), the first two were derived from contacts with the Italic mainland[22]. It is also possible, however, to say something more. It may be that the model on which the symbolic and ritual figure of the Venetian duke is built – lacking, due to his nature as an official subordinate to a sovereign power, the possibility of aspiring to a royal model – was precisely that of the Carolingian count, as it appears, for example, both in the famous fresco in the church of Saint Benedict in Malles, datable to the early 9th century and depicting a Carolingian official holding a sword, as well as in the same codex from Carinthia cited above, where a count is most likely depicted, holding a *baculus*[23]. It is a hypothesis, based on the relations that the Venetian dukes surely must had with counts from neighboring areas – including also a personage of the level of Eberhard of Friuli –, highlighting the appeal of the Carolingian aristocratic comital model outside the kingdom's borders.

The last example reinforces the main insight from the book. It does not present a single model of aristocracy but rather examines aristocratic networks and the dynamics of various élites across the Italian peninsula. It portrays a dynamic reality, free from rigid compartments. The definitions provided do not seek to ossify Italian social reality but rather offer keys to understanding Italy in Lothar's age. The distinctive characteristic of this period, which emerges clearly, is the extreme complexity of its ruling classes, influenced by the dialectic between immigrants and natives and by the strong differentiation between the areas of the Italic kingdom and those that remained outside (Venice, southern Lombardy) or on its margins (Rome, Ravenna).

[21] For all observations on Venice, see Gasparri, Gelichi, *Le isole del rifugio*.
[22] Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Veneticorum*, III, 32, p. 147.
[23] See above essay by Esders, cited in note 7.

Works cited

M. Bloch, *La società feudale*, Torino 1949.
Early Medieval Militarisation, ed. E. Bennet, G. M. Berndt, S. Esders, L. Sarti, Manchester 2021.
S. Esders, *Deux* libri legum *au service des fonctionnaires du royaume d'Italie á l'époque carolingienne*, in Imago libri. *Représentations carolingiennes du livre*, ed. C. Denoël, A. Poilpré, S. Shimahara, Turnhout 2018, pp. 79-84.
S. Gasparri, *The Dawn of Carolingian Italy. Central Government and Local Powers*, in Spes Italiae. *Il regno di Pipino, i Carolingi e l'Italia (781-810)*, ed. G. Albertoni, F. Borri, Turnhout 2022 (Haut Moyen Âge, 21), pp. 41-50.
S. Gasparri, *I Franchi e la guerra: esercito di popolo, clientele, cavalleria*, in *I Franchi*, Spoleto 2023 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 69), pp. 511-538.
S. Gasparri, *Border Pacts and frontier areas in Carolingian Italy*, in *Carolingian Frontiers: Italy and Beyond*, ed. M. Betti, F. Borri, S. Gasparri, Firenze 2024 (Ruling in hard times, 3), pp. 193-205.
S. Gasparri, *Rituali di potere nell'Europa altomedievale. La Corona Ferrea e altre storie*, Roma 2025.
S. Gasparri, S. Gelichi, *Le isole del rifugio. Venezia prima di Venezia*, Bari-Roma 2024.
Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria Veneticorum*, ed. and trad. L.A. Berto, Roma 1999.
T. Lazzari, *Dotari e beni fiscali*, in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 13 (2012), 2, pp. 123-139.
T. Lazzari, *Sugli usi speciali dei beni pubblici: i dotari delle regine e i beni dei monasteri*, in *Biens publics, biens de roi. Les bases économiques des pouvoirs royaux dans le haut Moyen Age*, ed. F. Bougard, V. Loré, Turnhout 2019 (Seminario del centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto medioevo, 9), pp. 443-452.
Les élites au Haut Moyen Âge. Crises et renouvellements, ed. F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan, Turnhout 2006 (Haut Moyen Âge, 1).
J.M. Martin, *Èlements préféodaux dans les principautés de Bénévent et de Capoue (fin de VIII^e^ siècle – début du XI^e^ siècle): modalités de privatisation du puovoir*, in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen (X^e^-XIII^e^ siècles). Bilan et perspectives de recherches*. Actes du colloque de Rome (10-13 octobre 1978), Rome 1980, pp. 553-586.
J.L. Nelson, *Ninth Century Knighthood. The Evidence of Nithard,* in Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London-Rio Grande 1996, pp. 75-87.
P. Predatsch, *Migration im Karolingischen Italien. Herrschaft, Sozialverhältnisse in Lucca und das Schreiben über Gruppen*, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Europa im Mittelalter, 38).
J.W. Scott, *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, in «The American Historical Review» 91/5 (1986), pp. 1053-1075.
V. West-Harling, *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice, 750-1000. Byzantine Heritage, Imperial Present and the Construction of City Identity*, Oxford 2020.
I. Wood, *The Christian Economy of the Early Medieval West. Towards a Temple Society*, Brooklyn-New York 2022.
G. Zornetta, *Italia meridionale longobarda. Competizione, conflitto e potere politico a Benevento (secoli VIII-IX)*, Roma 2020.

Stefano Gasparri
University Ca' Foscari of Venice (Italy)
gasparri@unive.it
0000-0002-1374-504X

Index of Persons

Achedeus, *count*: 148
Adalard the Seneschal: 50
Adalbert of Metz: 175
Adalbert/Adelbert I, *count of Lucca, marquis of Tuscany*: 17, 21, 23, 26, 193, 195, 197, 199, 200-202, 204, 219, 224
Adalbert II, *marquis of Tuscany*: 202, 205, 221, 230
Adalberti/Adalbertids, *family group*: 16, 18, 21, 26, 191, 202
Adalgisus, *bishop of Novara*: 25, 146
Adalgisus I/Adalgis/Adelgis I, *count of Brescia and Parma*: 35, 78, 84-85, 87, 141, 143, 146-151, 154-155, 195
Adalgisus II, *count of Piacenza*: 156
Adalhard of Corbie, *missus*: 17, 144, 150
Adalprandus: 227
Adam, *biblical figure*: 74
Adelaide/Adelheid, *king Pippin's daughter*: 20, 106
Adelburga, *wife of Autramn*: 19-20, 72-73
Adelchis, *prince of Benevento*: 291, 294, 302
Adelghisus/Adalchisus (Appo), *son of Andrea*: 219-221, 233
Adelpertus/Adalpertus, *son of Andrea*: 219-221, 233
Adelrad, *count of Siena*: 84, 89-90
Adeodatus, *bishop of Treviso*: 169
Adilbertus, *husband of Pereshinda*: 168
Adolfus, *son of Rosselmus*: 204
Adonaldus, *name*: 206
Adonaldus *de finibus Florentie, father of Adonaldus*: 205
Adonaldus, *son of Adonaldus* de finibus Florentie: 205
Adonaldus, *son of Agrafi*: 205
Adonaldus, *son of Rosselmus*: 189, 204-205, 207
Adonaldus, *son of Saxiprand* homo florentino: 205
Adonaldus, *son of Widalgrimus*: 204
Adrevald of Fleury: 152, 163
Adrian II, *pope*: 259
Adumar, *count of Verona*: 79-80
Aeneas, *literary figure*: 263
Africanus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 281-282
Agiprand, *bishop of Florence*: 89-90
Agiprandus, *archdeacon*: 228
Agiprandus, *father of Lupo*: 176
Agisclaf, *son of count Aio of Friuli*: 182
Agobard of Lyon, *archbishop*: 48
Agnellus, Andreas/Agnellus of Ravenna, *cleric and historian*: 52-53, 275, 280, 285
Agnellus Particiacus/Agnello Particiaco, *duke of Venice*: 125, 128
Agrafi, *father of Adonaldus and Forteramus*: 205
Aimo, *bishop of Belluno*: 172
Aimo, *son of Guntulus*: 233
Aio, *bishop of Benevento*: 294, 300

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Aio, *count of Friuli*: 24, 172, 182
Aipo, *scabinus*: 32
Airlie, Stuart: 49, 152
Aistulf, *king of the Lombards*: 294, 300
Alaman, *vassal*: 35
Alahis: 303
Alahis, *fidelis of duke Gisulf II*: 299
Albertoni, Giuseppe: 179
Albertus, *father of Eugenia*: 226
Albesina, see Valbesinda
Alboin/Alboinus, *count and son of Aio*: 24, 182
Alboinus, *vassal*: 32
Aldobrandeschi, *family group*: 29, 31, 33, 191-192, 194, 197, 200, 202, 206-208, 220, 222, 229, 313
Aledramnus, *comes*: 58
Alfanus: 303
Alfanus, *abbot*: 302
Aloitus, *son of Dundulus*: 217-218, 232
Aloni: 221
Aloni, *son of Angalpertus*: 221-223, 233
Aloni, *son of Dundulus*: 218-221, 232
Alpertus II (Aldobrandeschi), *cleric*: 220, 228
Alpchar/Alpcar, *baiulus*: 16-17, 20, 33, 106, 123
Alpulus, *priest*: 217
Amalberga, *abbess*: 52, 111
Amalricus/Amalric, *bishop of Como*: 24-25, 30, 73
Ambrose, *bishop of Lucca*: 25, 90, 223, 225-226, 229
Ambrose, *notary*: 105-106
Ambrose, *saint*: 108, 112
Anastasius, *bishop of Siena*: 86, 89
Anastasius Bibliothecarius: 149, 200, 243, 267-269
Andenna, Giancarlo: 109
Andrea, *advocate*: 219
Andrea, *son of Ghisus*: 219-220, 232
Andrea, *son of Iltifridus*: 229, 235
Andreas, *bishop of Vicenza*: 168, 183
Angalpertus, *son of Aroghisus/Arochis*: 219-223, 232
Angelberga, *empress*: 143, 147, 149, 179
Ansa, *queen of the Lombards*: 148
Anselmus/Anselm, *archbishop of Milan*: 145, 165
Anselm, *bishop*: 195
Anselmus, *bishop of Concordia*: 169
Anselperga, *daughter of king Desiderius*: 148, 249
Anseramus: 193
Ansimus, *son of Argimus*: 225, 234
Anspaldus, *cleric*: 228
Anfridius, *bishop of Brescia*: 107-108
Angilbert II, *archbishop of Milan*: 105, 109, 112
Ansa, *queen of the Lombards*: 98, 107
Anselm, *archbishop of Milan*: 112
Ansfridus, *abbot of Nonantola*: 25
Ansprandus, *imperial vassal*: 29
Anualdus, *priest*: 224-225
Ardefusa, *abbess*: 111
Ardingus: 37
Ardingus, *bishop of Brescia*: 156
Ardo, *son of Taito*: 224, 226-227, 234
Arduin, *king of Italy*: 207
Ardulf, *son of the duke Eric of Friuli*: 165, 182
Arechi, *king of the Lombards*: 58
Arechi II, *duke of Benevento*: 146
Arechis, *marpahis*: 295
Aresindus, *notar*: 76
Argimus, *son of Guntulus*: 225, 233
Arifusus, *goldsmith*: 132
Arigausus, *abbot*: 105
Aripertus, *sculdahis*: 305
Arno: 75
Arochis, *son of Dundulus*: 217-218, 223, 228, 232
Aroghisus/Arochis, *son of Ghisus*: 219-220
Aroghisus, *son of Aroghisus/Arochis*: 219-220, 233
Aroin, *count of Piacenza*: 84
Arpert: 176
Arsenius, *bishop of Orte*: 267
Arthemius, *bishop of Asolo*: 169
Auratus, *bishop of Feltre*: 169
Asia, *abbess*: 63-64, 79, 99-102
Astronomer, *anonymous biographer of Louis the Pious*: 56, 145, 165, 174, 247-248
Atiliano, *witness*: 284
Atilingo, *son of Atliano*: 284
Atrepaldo: 283
Atroaldo, *son of Atrepaldo*: 283
Atto: 226
Atto, *abbot of Fulda*: 175
Atto, *bishop of Novara*: 81, 85, 87
Audelinda, *widow of the count of Bergamo Auteranus*: 22, 75
Audibert, *abbot of S. Maria in Organo*: 176-179
Audibert, *cleric and notary*: 177
Audibertus *de Vicencia*: 167
Audo, *deacon and archdeacon, bishop of Verona*: 36-37, 173, 177-178, 182-183
Audoald, *notary and judge*: 302
Audualdus, *abbot of S. Salvatore del Monte Amiata*: 193
Auteranus/Auteram, *count of Bergamo*: 22, 75, 81, 86
Auratus, *bishop of Feltre*: 169
Auripertus, *brother of Natalis*: 225, 228
Auripertus, *physician*: 32
Austrifonsus, see *Ostrifusus*
Austripertus, *priest*: 225
Autpertus, *vassal*: 31-32
Autramnus/Autramn, *count of Modena*: 17-20, 27, 37, 154, 314
Ava, *mother-in-law of emperor Lothar I*: 19, 22, 37, 54-55

Baitieri, Michele: 199
Baldericus, *gastald*: 34
Balderic/Baldric, *marquis of Friuli*: 17, 21, 168, 174
Balzaretti, Ross: 103-104, 106-107, 121
Barbencius: 192-193, 196
Barbula, *sculdascius of Arezzo*: 193
Baronciulus: 220
Bassetti, Massimiliano: 83
Benedict, *archdeacon of the Roman Church*: 247
Benedict, *brother of pope Sergius II*: 250-251, 253
Benedict, *deacon and court member*: 33
Benedict, *saint*: 23, 99, 102, 109
Benedict III, *pope*: 202, 259, 267-269
Benedict of Soracte, *monk and chronicler*: 251
Berardenghi, *family group*: 202
Berenardus: 195
Berengar, *bishop of Lucca*: 24-26, 90, 220, 223, 226, 229
Berengar I, *king of Italy and emperor*: 155-156, 170
Berengarius: 37
Bernard, *name*: 39
Bernard, *count of Verona*: 81, 166, 176, 181, 243
Bernard, *king of Italy*: 3, 13, 17, 20-22, 53, 76, 84-85, 112, 144-148, 154, 164-166, 183, 218
Bernard of Septimania, *count of Barcelona*: 56-58, 100, 147, 152-154, 173
Bernwig, *abbot of St. Gallen*: 180-181
Berta, *daughter of count Wifred of Piacenza*: 149
Berta, *wife of Seufredus*: 28
Bertha, *daughter of emperor Lothar I*: 53
Bertha, *daughter of Hucpold*: 199
Bertilla, *queen and wife of Berengar I*: 143, 155-156
Betti, Maddalena: 317
Bloch, Marc: 312
Billong/Billung/Billongus, *bishop of Verona*: 17, 35, 81, 109, 166, 173, 176, 178, 181
Birichus: 17
Bonifridus, *cleric*: 32
Boniface I, *count of Lucca*: 16-17, 21
Boniface II, *count of Lucca, marquis of Tuscany*: 17-18, 21, 23, 25, 36, 174
Booker, Courtney: 58
Boso, *count*: 18-19, 26, 156
Bougard, François: 2, 4, 96, 143, 175, 197, 313, 315-316
Bournazel, Eric: 46-47, 50
Bruning, *merchant*: 103
Bruningo, *imperial vassal*: 281
Buzzi, Giulio: 277, 284

Cadolah, *count of Friuli*: 168, 183
Caesar, Gaius Julius: 253
Caila, *abbess*: 102
Carbonetti, Cristina: 71-72
Carloman, *king of Bavaria*: 172
Carloman II, *king of west Francia*: 150
Carloman, *Lothar's son*: 49
Carolingians, *dinasty*: 125, 151, 153-155, 161, 244, 278, 280
Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius: 53
Castagnetti, Andrea: 15, 30, 73, 106, 177, 179, 217, 220-221, 226
Celestine, *priest*: 192
Cesarius, *son of Sergius duke of Neaples*: 266
Charlemagne, *emperor*: 2, 3, 20-21, 24, 53, 59, 99, 103, 144-145, 148, 150, 152-153, 163-164, 166, 169, 171-172, 182, 217-219, 242-243, 245, 249, 258, 278-279, 290, 303
Charles, *name*: 39
Charles II, see Charles the Bald
Charles III, see Charles the Fat
Charles the Bald, *emperor*: 48, 51, 57-58, 153, 173-174, 259, 278
Charles the Fat, *emperor*: 72, 155, 205
Charles of Provence, *Lothar's son and king*: 55
Charles Martel, *mayor of the palace*: 57-58
Christ: 59
Ciaralli, Antonio: 30, 83, 87, 90
Claudius, *bishop of Turin*: 25
Collavini, Simone: 4, 14, 83, 97-98, 191, 215-216, 313
Constans I, *emperor*: 62, 69
Constantine II, *emperor*: 245
Constantinus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Constantius II, *emperor*: 62, 69
Cortese, Maria Elena: 15, 204, 206
Cundhart, *count of Vicenza*: 168
Cunegonda, *daughter of Adelgisus*: 147
Cunegonda, *mother-in-law of Dhuoda*: 147
Cunegunda/Cunegonda, *queen and wife of Bernard of Italy*: 22, 26, 37, 53, 76, 78, 84-85, 147-148
Cunibert *de Sancto Iusto*: 176
Cunimundinghi, *family group*: 33, 192, 221
Cunimund II: 204
Cunimund III: 221
Cunipert/Cunincpert, *king of the Lombard*: 62-64, 99
Cunipert/Cunipertus, *imperial vassal*: 29, 203
Cunipertus, *brother of the bishop Rampertus of Brescia*: 26
Cunipertus of Sancto Iusto, *father of the count Walfred of Verona*: 26

Daniel, *magister militum*: 252-253, 265-266, 268-269
Dauferius: 300
Dauferius the Mute: 291
Dauferius the Profet: 291
De Angelis, Gianmarco: 82-83, 95, 315

de Jong, Mayke: 50, 150
Delogu, Paolo: 51
Deodatus, *father of Teudilascius I*: 203
Desiderius, *king of the Lombards*: 26, 38, 98, 107, 148, 249
Deusdedit, *cleric*: 104-105
Dhuoda, *autor and wife of Bernard of Septimania*: 57-58, 143, 147, 152-154, 156
Digna: 281
Doda, *servant*: 49
Dominicus, *bishop of Padua*: 169
Donusdei, *scabinus*: 225
Draco, *brother of Vualpertus*: 219
Drogo of Metz, *bishop and missus*: 250, 276
Duchesne, Louis Marie Olivier: 262
Ructemirus, *archancellor and bishop of Novara*: 198, 201, 203
Duchi, *family group*: 285
Dulcissimus, *bishop of Ceneda*: 172
Dundulus, *son of Wandulus*: 217-218, 220-221, 228, 232

Ebbo, *abbot of San Zeno*: 35, 173, 177
Ebbo, *bishop of Rheims and abbot of Hildesheim*: 25, 152-153
Eberhard, *marquis of Friuli*: 17-18, 21, 65, 73, 155, 168-170, 181-182, 195, 246-247, 318
Eberhard, *father of Milo*: 26
Ebroinus, *vassal*: 49
Eggideo, *camerarius of Reginhard/Reginhar*: 165
Egino, *bishop of Verona*: 109, 166
Einhard: 145
Elbunc, *bishop of Parma*: 72
Eleutherius, see Lauterius
Elmericus, *bishop*: 25
Emitancus, *son of Aimo*: 226, 233
Emmo, *bishop of Ceneda*: 169, 172
Engelberga/Angelberga, *empress and wife of Louis II*: 65, 72, 74-75, 78
Engelbert from Erbé: 35, 178-179, 183, 193
Engilbert, *abbot of St. Gallen*: 181
Enspertus of Baldeniga: 172
Erchempert of Monte Cassino, *monk and chronicler*: 291-292, 297, 302
Erembertus/Erembert, *imperial vassal*: 30, 37, 75
Eric/Hericus, *duke of Friuli*: 165, 168
Eriprandus/Eriprand I Aldobrandeschi, *imperial vassal*: 28-30, 34, 194-195, 197-199, 201, 203, 207, 220, 314
Ermengarda/Ermengard, *empress and wife of Louis the Pious*: 36, 45, 49-55, 64, 112, 155, 165, 181, 314.
Ermenulfus/Ermenulf, *son of Erembertus*: 37, 75
Erminald, *priest*: 105, 107
Ernost/Hernust, *imperial vassal*: 28, 35, 37, 103-104, 106, 131
Esders, Stefan: 314
Esther, *biblical figure*: 54
Etichonids, *family group*: 22, 26
Eugenia, *widow of Adtjus*: 226
Eugenius III, *pope*: 248
Eustochius: 59
Eve, *biblical figure*: 74

Farao I, *father of Farolfus I*: 192, 194
Farao II, *son of Farolfus I*: 196-197, 200, 206
Farimundus, *deacon and chaplain, son of Farolfus I*: 196-200
Farolfingi, *family group*: 30, 189, 192-194, 196-198, 200-202, 204-208, 313
Farulfus: 30
Farolfus I, *son of Farao I*: 192-197, 199-201, 314
Farolfus II, *son of Farolfus I*: 193, 196-197, 200, 204, 206
Farolfus III, *son of Farolfus II*: 200, 205, 207
Fauliri, Manuel: 95, 313
Faustinus, *saint*: 110
Flaipertus: 228
Flodoard of Rheims, *priest and chronicler*: 53, 260, 263
Florius, *superista*: 248
Forti, *sculdahis*: 305
Fraimannus: 220
Fraimundus, *son of Angalpertus*: 221, 233
Francus, *bishop of Vicenza*: 168-169
Fraolmo, *of the Sons of Huscit*: 221
Fratellus, *father of Gherimundus*: 218
Frédelon, *count and marquis*: 75
Frederick II, *emperor*: 277, 285
Fredhald, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Fulchernus: 35
Fumagalli, Vito: 156

Gaidus, *duke of Vicenza*: 163
Gaidulfus of Cologno: 132
Galla Placidia, *daughter of Emperor Theodosius I*: 274
Gamanolfus: 37
Gandolfus, *count of Piacenza*: 34
Gasparri, Stefano: 170, 179, 295, 299
Gauginus, *notary*: 198
Gausprandus: 24
Gebhard, *count of Treviso*: 170-171
Gelasius, *pope*: 150
Genesius/Senesius, *saint*: 61, 68, 171
George, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 52-53, 276-277, 280-281
Gerardus, *vassus and cubicularius, relative of Billongus, bishop of Verona*: 35
Gerardus, *another vassus and cubicularius of Billongus, bishop of Verona*: 35
Gerard/Gherard I, *bishop of Lucca*: 30, 198, 204, 221
Gerberga, *nun of Chalon-sur-Saône*: 45, 56-58, 61, 64, 100
Gherardus: 226

Gherimundus, *son of Fratellus*: 218
Gherimundus, *scabinus*: 219
Giselberga, *sister of Scaptoald*: 105
Gisla, *daughter of Lothar*: 36, 51, 98
Gisla, *daughter of Louis the Pious*: 65, 80
Gisleramnus/Gisleram/Gisleran, *abbot*: 63, 99-102
Gisulf, *son of the dux Romuald*: 284
Gisulf II, *duke of Benevento*: 299
Ghisus, *son of Dundulus*: 218-219, 228, 232
Giordano, *lawyer*: 124
Gisaltruda, *widow of Peter*: 206
Giselbert, *vassal*: 205
Gisla, *daughter of Louis the Pious and wife of Eberhard of Friuli*: 169
Gisla/Gisela, *daughter of Lothar*: 155, 181, 194, 195
Gisulf, *deacon*: 177, 203
Giustiniano, *son of the duke Agnellus Patriciacus*: 128
Godescalc, *duke of Benevento*: 299
Godfrey, *vassal*: 198, 203
Gottefridus, *father of the bishop Gerard of Lucca*: 29
Gozelo, *count*: 56-57
Grasemondus: 25
Grasulfus: 177
Gratian, *superista*: 252-253, 257, 260, 264-270
Grauselbert, *father of the bishop Audo of Verona*: 177
Gregor IV, *pope*: 246, 249
Gregorius, *dativus*: 284
Gregory, *dux*: 283-284
Gregory of Tours: 61, 100
Grimald, *abbot of St. Gallen*: 180
Grimoald, *father of Engelbert from Erbé*: 193
Grimoald, *son of Engelbert from Erbé*: 178
Grimoald IV, *prince of Benevento*: 293, 295-297, 300
Guacco, *gastald*: 304
Guachipert, *son of the gastald Guacco*: 304
Guaiferius, *son of Dauferius the Mute*: 291
Guarinus, *father of Seufredus*: 28
Guidi, *family group*: 276
Gumpertus, *son of Guntulus*: 233
Gundo, *father of Pope John VIII*: 200
Guntelmus, *cleric and son of Tao*: 224-228, 230-231, 233
Guntulus: 223, 233
Gunzo, *archdeacon*: 120
Guy I, *duke of Spoleto*: 21, 26, 195, 197, 200, 251, 290, 299
Guy II of Spoleto, *king of Italy and emperor*: 72, 314

Hadrian I, *pope*: 267
Hadumar, *count of Verona*: 166
Hagano, *bishop of Bergamo*: 25-26, 73, 109
Hagano, *count of Arezzo*: 26
Hagano, *count of Lucca*: 17-19, 21, 23, 25-26, 30-31, 199, 220, 226
Harun al-Rashid, *caliph of Baghdad*: 171
Heimbert, *bishop of Trento*: 169
Hernust, see Ernost
Haimo, *consiliarius*: 22, 25, 26
Helperinus, *vassal*: 29
Henry II, *king and emperor*: 207
Heribert, *archdeacon*: 78
Heribert, *brother of Bernard of Septimania*: 57
Hermenfridus, *archcanchellor and bishop*: 25
Hermengarius: 177
Hermintrud/Ermintrud, *sculdarissa*: 39
Hildebrandus, *father of Eriprandus*: 28-29
Hildegard, *queen and Charlemagne's wife*: 53
Hildemar, *monk*: 109, 113
Hildeprandus, *brother of Helperinus*: 29
Hildiprandus I/Hildeprand I, *count of Lucca*: 17, 21, 23-24, 31, 194, 220, 229
Hildeprand II, *count of Lucca*: 201
Hilduin, *archbishop of Cologne*: 25
Hincmar, *archbishop of Rheims*: 53, 150, 196, 245, 259
Hirmingard, *queen*, see Ermengarda/Ermengard
Hirsch-Gereuth von, Adolf: 259
Hitta, see Ita
Hitto: 226
Hitto, *bishop of Freising*: 19, 168
Hlawitschka, Eduard: 104, 315
Honorius, *emperor*: 274
Horden, Peregrine: 128
Hrabanus Maurus: 54, 175
Hrodgaud, *duke of Friuli*: 24, 163, 168, 172, 182
Hubert, *imperial chaplain*: 37
Hucbald, *ally of Louis the Pious*: 283
Hucpald, *count of Verona*: 79-80, 85, 166
Hucpold/Ucpald/Ucpaldus, *count of the palace*: 148, 199, 201, 202
Hucpoldingi/Ucpoldings/Hucpoldings, *family group*: 154, 202
Hugh, *brother of Ermengarda*: 52
Hugh, *Lothar II's son*: 55
Hugh of Arles/Hugh of Provence, *king of Italy*: 156, 207, 259
Hugh of Tours, *count*: 22, 37, 49, 54-55, 174, 179, 246, 314
Hunfred, *count of Chur*: 248
Hunfrid I, *margrave of Istria*: 21
Hunfrid II, *margrave of Istria*: 21
Hunfridingi, *family group*: 26
Hunger, *Ernost's brother*: 106
Hunroc: 226
Huosi, *family group*: 18
Huschner, Wolfgang: 82, 199
Huscit: 29

Iacobus, *bishop of Lucca*: 86
Iffo, *count of Sovana*: 84
Ignatius, *patriarch of Costantinople*: 259
Ildiprandus, *son of Iltifridus*: 228-229, 235
Iltifridus, *son of Sichiprandus*: 228, 235
Iltruda, *nun and daughter of Argimus*: 219, 225, 234
Ingelrada, *comitissa*: 283
Ingeprandus: 292
Ingo: 177
Innes, Matthew: 46
Ingoald, *abbot of Farfa*: 243, 249
Ingobert, *son of count Aio of Friuli*: 182
Iohannes, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Iohannes, *son of the dativus Gregorius*: 284
Iohannes, *son of Ghisus*: 219, 232
Iohannes, *son of Taito*: 225, 234
Iohannes *Bavo*: 132
Irmingard, *empress*, see Ermengarda
Isembard, *comes*: 58
Isidore of Seville: 62
Ita/Itta/Hitta, *wife of Guy I of Spoleto*: 26, 195
Iulianus, *bishop of Ceneda*: 172
Ivo of Chartres, *bishop*: 259

Jacob, *bishop of Lucca*: 224, 228
Januarius, *saint*: 175
Jeremiah Aldobrandeschi, *bishop of Lucca*: 29-30, 90, 198, 202-203, 220-221, 229
Jerome, *saint*: 59-60, 63
John, *archchancellor*: 198
John, *duke of Venice*: 170
John I, *bishop of Lucca*: 84, 86
John VIII, *pope*: 200, 204-205, 245, 259
John VIII, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 86
John X, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 284
John of Seprio, *son of count Leo*: 30-31, 84, 90, 102
John, *bishop of Silva Candida*: 247
John Immonides: 205
Jonas of Orléans, *bishop*: 48
Joseph, *bishop of Ivrea, abbot of Novalesa*: 25, 195, 198, 249
Jovita, *saint*: 110
Judith, *biblical figure*: 54
Judith, *empress*: 17, 21, 36, 47-48, 53-54, 110, 148, 173-175
Julia, *saint*: 222
Justinian, *emperor*: 318
Justinian Particiacus, *duke of Venice*: 36

Karolus, *son of Liutprand*: 38-39
Kernand: 19

Laipo, *son of Aimo*: 233
Laiulfus, *bishop of Mantua*: 169
Lambert, *emperor*: 72
Lambert/Lampert, *bishop of Parma*: 26, 78
Lambert of Nantes, *count*: 18, 21, 26, 246
Lambert the Bald, *count of Camerino*: 22
Lambertus/Lambert, *of the Sons of Rodilandus*: 204, 221
Lambert II, *of the Sons of Rodilandus*: 205
Lampert, *bishop of Arezzo*: 193
Landulf the Elder, *count of Capua*: 291
Landulfilds, *family group*: 291-292, 298
La Rocca, Cristina: 95, 98, 100, 312
Lauterius: *citizen of Ravenna*: 281-282
Le Jan, Régine: 46, 57-58, 152, 164
Leo, *count*: 249
Leo, *nomenclator*: 247, 252
Leo I, *missus and count of Seprio*: 17, 30-32, 83-84, 87, 90, 102
Leo III, *pope*: 243, 245, 247, 258-259, 265-266
Leo IV, *pope*: 54, 195, 196, 201, 203, 207, 241, 246, 251-253, 257-264, 266-270, 317
Leodegarius, *monk*: 109, 112-113
Leodoinus, *count*: 22
Leodoinus, *gastald*: 22, 34
Leodoin, *levita*: 199
Leotricus: 75
Liutfrid I, *son of Hugh of Tours and Ava*: 22, 195;
Liutfrid II, *son of Liutfrid I*: 22
Liutfrid, *duke of Trento*: 179
Liuthadus, *notary*: 32
Liutperga, *abbess*: 111
Liutprand: 38, 39
Liutprand, *king of the Lombards*: 294
Ljudevit, *duke*: 168
Loré, Vito: 293, 295
Lothar I, *emperor*: 2-5, 11, 13-14, 17-24, 26-27, 29-31, 33, 36, 38, 45, 47-59, 61-65, 72-73, 87, 96, 98-103, 105, 121, 125, 130-131, 141, 143, 145-148, 150-151, 154-155, 161, 163-165, 167, 169-175, 179-183, 189, 191, 194-199, 201-202, 206, 208, 213, 216, 218, 226, 230-231, 241, 243, 246-253, 257-259, 263, 273-286, 290, 311, 314-318
Lothar II, *emperor*: 50, 54-55, 245
Louis the German, *king of East Francia*: 173-175, 179, 180-181, 278
Louis the Pious, *emperor*: 3, 17-20, 24, 32, 36, 47-48, 50, 53-55, 57, 63, 65, 72, 99, 104, 110, 143, 145-146, 148, 152, 155, 164-167, 169, 171-175, 179-180, 182-183, 195; 218, 242, 245-250, 252, 274, 281, 283
Louis II, *emperor*: 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 30, 32-33, 37, 55, 63, 65, 72-75, 102, 110-111, 130, 143, 146, 148-149, 151, 154, 170, 172, 179-182, 191, 193-204, 206, 226, 257, 265-266, 268-269, 274, 281, 284-285, 289-290, 292, 299-301, 305-306, 314, 316-317
Lupo, *son of Agiprandus*: 176-178, 183

Macedo, *notary*: 32
MacLean, Simon: 53
Madelelmus/Madalhelm, *royal vassus*: 56

Maginarius, *priest*: 109
Maio, *gastald*: 305
Maio, *son of Dauferius the Mute*: 291
Malaguzzi Valeri, Ippolito: 143
Manaresi, Cesare: 85
Manarini, Edoardo: 73
Marinus, *priest*: 225
Marozia, *Roman noblewoman*: 259
Martin, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 277
Martin, *dux*: 283
Martin of Opava, *friar, bishop and chronicler*: 278
Martin, Jean-Marie: 298-300
Martinus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Matasuintha, *Theoderic's niece*: 53
Matfredus, *son of Seufredus*: 28
Matfrid of Orléans, *count*: 18-19, 48, 174
Mattiello, Giulio: 236
Mauringus, *gastald*: 34, 144, 146, 150
Maurinus, *count of the palace*: 143, 146-147
Maurus, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 280
Maxentius, *patriarch of Aquileia*: 165, 169, 171-172
Mengolo: 129
Menulfus, *gastald*: 104
Michael, *archdeacon of Ravenna*: 276
Milo, *count*: 22, 26
Milone, *count of Verona*: 130-131
Modzelewski, Karol: 125
Mona, *wife of the count Wicheram*: 78

Natalis, *brother of Auripertus*: 225, 228
Nebulungus: 316
Nelson, Janet L.: 46, 50
Nicholas I, *pope*: 245, 259
Nithard: 48, 56, 314
Noble, Thomas: 155
Nordbert, *bishop of Reggio*: 78
Notingus/Notting/Notingo, *bishop of Vercelli, Verona and Brescia*: 24-26, 73, 109-111, 113, 166, 175, 181-183, 195-197
Notker the Stammerer: 152

Obelerius, *duke of Venice*: 170
Obertenghi, *family group*: 207
Obizzo II d'Este, *marquis of Ferrara and Ancona*: 276
Odascalcus, *bishop of Trento*: 179
Oddo, *count of Mantua*: 85
Odilbert/Odelpert, *archbishop of Milan*: 88, 105
Oliba, *count of Carcassone*: 75
Onelda, *widow of Enspertus*: 172
Ortinus, *vassal of Bishop Notingus*: 73, 172, 181
Osprandus, *priest*: 225
Ostrifusus, *deacon*: 219, 224
Otgar of Mainz, *archbishop*: 175
Othelbertus, *bishop of Belluno*: 169
Otto I, *king and emperor*: 207
Otto I, *king and emperor*: 207

Pacificus, *archdeacon of Verona*: 80, 166-167, 182
Paldus, *father of the priest Petrus*: 221
Panchoardus, *bishop of Cremona*: 33
Pandonulf: 291
Pani, Laura: 224, 315
Paschal I, *pope*: 241, 243, 246-249, 252, 280
Patzold, Steffen: 95, 97
Paul, *saint*: 74, 261
Paul the Deacon: 62, 99, 292
Paul Traversaria, see Paulus Traversaria
Paulinus, *patriarch of Aquileia*: 168
Paulus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 281-282
Paulus, *nobilissimus vir*: 202
Paulus Traversaria, *citizen of Ravenna*: 285
Pazienza, Annamaria: 95
Perahtold, *son of the duke Ljudevit*: 168
Percarda, *abbess*: 183
Perctarit, *king of the Lombards*: 101
Peredeus, *bishop of Lucca*: 81, 84, 88
Peresinda: 168
Perideus, *bishop of Como*: 25
Periprandus, *son of Iltifridus*: 229, 235
Persius, *vicedominus* and *referendarius*: 297
Peter, *bishop*: 30
Peter, *bishop of Arezzo*: 81, 90, 196
Peter, *bishop of Lucca*: 86, 228
Peter, *bishop of Luni*: 88
Peter, *bishop of Spoleto*: 25, 195-201
Peter, *deacon*: 193
Peter, *gastald*: 34
Peter, *magister militum*: 264
Peter, *marpahis*: 303
Peter, *notary*: 204
Peter, *saint*: 245, 248, 261-262
Peter, *superista*: 204-205
Peter II/Pietro II, *abbot of Saint Ambrose*: 120, 124, 132
Peter II, *bishop of Arezzo*: 196
Peter II, *bishop of Lucca*: 227
Peter II, *bishop of Volterra*: 90
Petornace: 120
Petronax, *archbishop of Ravenna*: 280
Petrucci, Armando: 75, 83, 85, 89, 90
Petrus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Petrus, *priest*: 220
Petrus, *sanctus*, see Peter, *saint*
Philastrius, *bishop*: 108, 110
Pieri, Silvio: 225
Pippin, *king of Aquitaine*: 174
Pippin, *king of Italy*: 16, 21, 23, 29, 106, 144, 164-166, 174, 182, 218, 297, 301
Pippin, *name*: 39
Pippinids, *dinasty*: 26
Plato, *chancellor*: 198
Podo, *bishop of Piacenza*: 25
Podo, *priest*: 103
Poto: 30-32

Prando, *abbot*: 100
Predatsch, Paul: 315
Purcell, Nicholas: 128

Rachiprandus, *priest*: 218
Radelchis, *count of Conza*: 295-298
Radelchis, *prince of Benevento*: 289-291
Radelgarius, *prince of Benevento*: 291
Radelmondus, *husband of a daughter of prince Sico*: 296
Radeprandus: 303
Radoald, *count*: 291
Raghinardus, *bishop of Pisa*: 34
Ragimundus, *count*: 147
Raimbaldus, *father of Jeremiah, bishop of Lucca*: 203
Ramingo I, *son of Tao of Lunata*: 224-227, 233
Ramingo II, *son of Ramingo*: 235
Rampertus, *bishop of Brescia*: 25-26, 108-110, 112
Rampertus, *count of Piacenza*: 26
Rapetti, Anna: 318
Rapperga, *ancilla Dei*: 218
Rataldus, *imperial missus*: 104
Ratbert, *father of Doda*: 49
Ratgaudus: 176
Rathaldus, *bishop*: 145
Ratold/Ratoldus, *bishop of Verona*: 25, 28, 79-81, 85, 89, 104, 109-110, 145, 165-167, 169-171, 174-176, 182-183, 195
Ratpertus, *abbot of Nonantola*: 25
Reginhar: 165-166
Reginhard, *camerarius*: 165
Reinricus, *notary*: 72
Riccobaldo of Ferrara, *notary and chronicler*: 273, 275-278, 285
Richard, *ostiarius*: 19, 26, 30-31
Richilda, *sister of Boniface II*: 23, 36
Richiprandus, *son of Iltifridus*: 235
Rodegarius, *gastald*: 305
Roderic, *chaplain and gastald*: 203, 207
Rodericus, *homo Francisco*: 226
Rodilandus: 203
Rodilandus II: 205
Rodingo, *son of Turingo*: 227, 235
Rodingus, *bishop of Florence*: 90, 202
Roffrit: 291
Roffrit, *referendarius and thesaurarius of prince Sico*: 291, 296-298, 300, 302-303
Romanus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 281
Romanus, *another citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Romeo, Carlo: 83
Romualdus/Romuald, *dux*: 284
Romualdi, *family group*: 285
Rorius, *bishop of Padua*: 168
Rosselmus: 203-204, 206
Rossetti, Gabriella: 104
Rotechildus, *abbot of Nonantola*: 25
Rotchild, *baiolus*: 316
Rotilda/Rothild, *daughter of Guy I and Itta*: 195
Rottruda, *daughter of Farao II*: 206
Ructald: 147
Rothari, *vassal*: 32
Rotilda, *wife of Adalbert I*: 26
Rotruda, *daughter of emperor Lothar and emperess Ermengarda*: 52, 314
Rudolf, *count and lay abbot of Saint-Maurice of Agaune*: 75

Sadutto: 291
Salimbene de Adam, *friar and chronicler*: 275, 284-285
Santos Salazar, Igor: 95, 278, 313
Sanzio, Raphael: 261
Saracenus, *sculdhais*: 304
Saxiprand, *father of Adonaldus*: 205
Scaptoald, *son of Vuarnefrit*: 105-107
Schiaparelli, Luigi: 86
Scholastica, *saint*: 23
Schoolman, Edward: 316
Schwarzmaier, Hansmartin: 192, 200
Sedulius Scottus: 169
Sebastian, *saint*: 280
Senator, *cleric and Deusdedit's brother*: 104-105
Senila, *count*: 56
Serghi, *family group*: 285
Sergius II, *pope*: 37, 241, 250-252, 259, 265-266
Sergius, *superista*: 248
Sergius, *duke of Naples*: 266
Sernagiotto, Leonardo: 95, 99-100, 315
Settipani, Christian: 147
Seufredus, *bishop of Piacenza*: 25, 28, 88
Seufredus, *imperial vassal*: 28
Sicard, *prince of Benevento*: 290-293, 295-296, 299-300
Sicardus, *abbot of Farfa*: 25
Sichardus, *priest*: 33
Sichelenda, *daughter of prince Sico*: 296
Sichiprandus, *father of Iltifridus*: 228
Sichiprandus II, *son of Iltifridus*: 229, 235
Sico, *gastald and prince of Benevento*: 26, 295-298, 302
Siconulf, *prince of Salerno*: 289-291
Sigemarius, *vassal*: 37
Sigeradus, *son of count Leo*: 31
Sigifredus/Sigefred, *bishop of Reggio Emilia*: 19, 199
Sigismundus, *vassal*: 176
Silvanus, *abbot of Pfäfers*: 180
Sisimundus of Teramo: 24
Sons of Dundulus, *family group*: 216-217, 220, 223-224, 228-230, 232, 236
Sons of Guntulus, *family group*: 216, 219, 223-224, 228-230, 233, 237
Sons of Huscit: 28-29, 192, 204, 221, 228
Sons of Iltifridus, *family group*: 216, 227-230, 235, 237

Sons of Rodilandus: 192, 205, 221
Spereindeo, *citizen of Ravenna*: 284
Spicciani, Amleto: 192
Stabilinius, *father-in-law of the duke of Friuli Hrodgaud*: 163
Stadibertus, *canchelor*: 177
Stafford, Pauline: 46
Stefanus, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Stefanus, *son of count Iffo*: 84
Stephanus, *archipresbiter*: 178
Stephanus, *donors*: 281
Stephanus, *gastaldus*: 303
Stephen III, *pope*: 245
Stephen IV, *pope*: 245-247, 249
Stoffella, Marco: 224
Suabili: 304
Supino Martini, Paola: 83
Suppo I, *count of Brescia*: 20, 143-146, 150-151, 154, 165-166
Suppo II, *duke of Spoleto*: 143, 149
Suppo III, *duke of Spoleto*: 154-155
Suppo IV, *count of Modena*: 156
Supponids, *family group*: 16-18, 20-21, 25-26, 34, 78, 141, 143, 146-148, 153-157, 207, 281, 313

Tabacco, Giovanni: 81, 299
Tachimpaldus/Tachimpald, *bishop of Bergamo*: 25, 34, 81
Taito, *son of Guntulus*: 223-225, 228, 234
Tao, *son of Guntulus*: 224, 233
Tao, *subdeacon, son of Ramingo II*: 224, 235
Tellenbach, Gerd: 26, 142, 312
Teodaldus, *bishop of Belluno*: 172
Teoderissius: 120
Tessera, Miriam: 112
Tetgrimo, *count*: 279
Teubergha, *wife of the count of Lucca Hagano*: 23
Teudilascius Cunimundinghi, *deacon, archdeacon, bishop of Luni*: 33, 198, 203, 227
Teudilascius, *son of Deodatus*: 203
Teudimundus I: 203-204, 229
Teutpaldus, *son of Turingo (of the Sons of Guntulus)*: 227, 235
Teutberga, *queen and wife of Lothar II*: 55
Teutpertus: 227
Thegan, *biographer of Louis the Pious*: 49, 56-57, 152, 165, 248
Theidera, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Theodore, *bishop and pontifical legate*: 90
Theodore, *primicerius*: 247, 252
Theodore, *scriniarius*: 267
Theodota: 63
Theoderic/Theodoric, *king of the Ostrogoths*: 53, 274
Theodoric, *counsellor of Louis II*: 148
Theodorus, *bishop*: 281
Theodorus, *monetarius*: 35
Theodulf of Orléans, *bishop*: 145, 164-165
Theophylact, *count of Tusculum*: 251, 253
Theopontius/Teopompus, *saint*: 171
Theudibert, *brother of Walpert*: 103-104
Theutberga, *abbess*: 101
Theutpald: 106
Tolosanus, *canon of Faenza*: 275, 278-279
Tomei, Paolo: 221, 313
Toringarius, *bishop of Concordia*: 181
Toto, *thesaurarius*: 291
Toto of Campione: 106
Totonids, *family group*: 30
Toubert, Pierre: 266
Trasemundus: 304
Traversaria, *family group*: 285
Turingo I, *son of Tao of Lunata*: 224-227, 233
Turingo II, *son of Turingo I*: 227, 235

Ulfus, *vassal*: 176
Ulysses, *literary figure*: 154
Unfer Verre, Gaia Elisabetta: 83
Unger, *brother of Ernost*: 37
Unrochids, *family group*: 21, 24, 26
Upertus, *subdeacon and imperial chaplain*: 178
Ursibertus *de Vicencia*: 167
Ursus: 104
Ursus, *duddus* and *referendarius*: 297
Ursus, *fidelis* of duke Adelchis: 302
Ursus, *gastald*: 33
Ursus, *husband of a daughter of prince Sico*: 296

Valbesinda: 283, 286
Valentine, *pope*: 246
van Rhijn, Carine: 95, 97
Vegio, Maffeo: 263
Verendarius, *bishop of Chur*: 174, 180
Veronese, Francesco: 171, 313
Violante, Cinzio: 14
Vitale, *son of Spereindeo*: 284
Vitalianus, *consul*: 284
Vitalis, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Vitiges, *king of the Ostrogoths*: 53
Vocino, Giorgia: 108, 112
Vogel, Cyrille: 242
Vualpertus, *brother of Draco*: 219
Vualprandus, *priest*: 218
Vualtarius, *sculdascius*: 35
Vuarnefrit: 105
Vuilimundus: 226
Vuilipertus, *vassal*: 217
Vuitgherius, *bishop of Torino*: 281
Vuillelmus, *homo Alamanno*: 226-227
Vuilliram, *citizen of Ravenna*: 282
Vuito: 220

Wadulf, *donors*: 304
Wala of Corbie, *abbot*: 3, 17, 25, 30, 50, 100, 145, 243, 245, 248
Walafrid Strabo: 175, 180, 183

Waldericus, *gastald*: 33, 35
Waldrada: 55
Walpert, *brother of Theudibert*: 103-104
Walfred/Walpert/Walpertus, *count of Verona*: 17, 26, 166, 176-177
Wandulus, *father of Dundulus*: 217
Warald, *count of Verona*: 166, 169, 170
Warin: 56
Weltruta, *wife of Ernost/Hernust*: 28, 37, 103-104
Werner, Karl Ferdinand: 146
Werulfus-Podo, *scabinus*: 37
West-Harling, Veronica: 277, 285, 316
Westerbergh, Ulla: 291
Wibod, *bishop of Parma*: 72
Wicheram, *count*: 78
Wickham, Chris: 14-15, 303
Widalgrimus, *son of the late Rosselmus*: 204
Wido, see Guy
Widonids, *family group*: 21-22, 25-26, 34, 199
Wifred/Wilfrid II, *count of Piacenza*: 156, 314
William, *duke of Aquitaine*: 56, 58
William, *son of Dhuoda*: 57-58, 152-154
Winigildus, *son of Farolfus II and vassal*: 206-207
Winigildus, *brother of Peter*: 206
Winigis, *vassal and son of the duke of Spoleto Winigis*: 31
Winigis, *count of Siena*: 199, 201, 202
Winigis/Winigisus, *duke of Spoleto*: 145
Witgarius/Witgar, *archchancellor and bishop of Turin*: 25, 87
Wolfodus, *bishop of Cremona*: 145, 165-166
Wolvene, *count of Verona*: 166, 168
Wood, Ian: 112

Zornetta, Giulia: 317

Index of Place Names and Ethnonyms

Aachen: 49, 51, 54-55, 59, 99, 102, 108, 155, 165, 168, 172, 174, 181-182, 194-195
Acerenza: 295-297, 302
Abruzzo: 26, 38
Acereta: 279
Adda, river: 147
Alamanni, see Alamans
Alamans: 25, 38, 168, 176, 180, 183, 226, 227, 315
Alamannia/Alemannia: 20, 25, 103, 109-110, 144-145, 161, 163-164, 166, 168, 173, 175, 180, 182-183
Albaro: 120
Alemans, see Alamans
Alemannia, see Alamannia
Alife: 304
Alina: 51
- San Salvatore, monastery: 51
Alps: 16, 18, 22, 30, 38, 73, 75, 103, 110, 163, 165, 168, 174, 176, 182-183, 226, 303, 311, 315
Alsace: 22, 173, 179
Altino: 125
- Santo Stefano, monastery: 125
Amalfitans: 261
Amelia: 260
Amiata, see San Salvatore del Monte Amiata
Aniano: 224-225
- Sant'Ippolito, church: 224-225, 227, 229
Aquamaria: 120
Apulia: 300, 305
Aquileia: 24, 73, 169, 171, 182
- Santa Maria, church: 169
Aquitaine: 56, 58
Ararim, river: 56-57, 61, 68
Arezzo: 26, 30, 73, 81, 90, 149, 192, 194, 196, 198-199, 203
Arno, river: 227
Arles: 21, 207
Arsina: 222
Asolo: 167
Asso: 19, 193
- San Donato, church: 193
- San Pietro, church: 19
Asti: 81
Attigny: 145
Aulla: 204
- Santa Maria, church: 204
Aurilia: 128
Auriola, curtis: 130, 170, 198
Avars: 24, 182
Avellino: 304
Avenay: 53
Avisa, canal: 128

Bagnoli di Sopra: 131
- Santa Maria e San Michele Arcangelo, chapel: 131
Bagnolo, see Bagnoli di Sopra
Baiano: 193

FUP Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing (DOI 10.36253/fup_best_practice)

Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (edited by), *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in Italy in the age of Lothar I*, © Author(s), CC BY 4.0, published by Firenze University Press, ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3, DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3

Baiowari, see Bavarians
Baldeniga: 172
Barcelona: 58
Bari, emirate: 300
Basilicata: 295
Bavaria: 3, 18, 163, 164; 175
Bavarians: 38, 179, 183, 226, 315
Belluno: 167, 172
Benevento: 5, 26, 64, 102, 146, 195, 200, 289-295, 297-300, 302, 305-306, 311, 317
- Porta Summa: 302
- San Benedetto in Benevento, church: 304
- Santa Sofia, monastery: 293, 303
Berg: 54
Bergamo: 17, 23, 26, 32, 34, 73, 75, 81, 83, 156
- Foro: 75
- Sant'Alessandro, church: 22
Bernhardsriet: 180
Beturianu, curtis: 201
Biella: 18
Biferno: 297
Black Forest: 176
Bobbio, monastery: 25, 73, 102, 316
Bodman: 173
Bologna: 86, 143, 154, 284
Bolsena, lake: 200-201
Borgo al Cornio: 206
Botteniga, river: 171
Brescia: 20, 25-26, 35-36, 51-53, 96-98, 100, 102, 107-112, 145-149, 154, 165, 181, 194, 197, 249, 281
- San Faustino Maggiore, monastery: 107-109, 112
- San Faustino ad sanguinem, church: 108
- San Salvatore/Santa Giulia, monastery: 36, 51-53, 96-98, 100, 102, 107, 109-112, 147-148, 155, 168, 181, 194, 249
- Santa Maria Honorii/monasterium Honorii, monastery: 110-111, 113
- Sant'Andrea, church: 108
- Santi Faustino e Giovita/Jovita, church: 107-108, 181
Brondolo: 131
- Santa Trinità, monastery: 131
Bulficiano: 225-226
Burgundy: 173
Bursino: 130
Byzantine Empire: 244
Byzantium: 171, 317

Calabria: 300
Caltana: 129-130
Cambridge: 14
Camerata Picena: 199, 201
Camerino: 22, 26, 33
Campi Bisenzio: 205
Campione: 30, 106
Cana: 74
Cannstatt: 163
Capannori: 220, 224
Capua: 291-292, 295, 306, 317
Carcassonne: 75
Carinthia: 33, 314, 318
Carpeneto: 84
Carpiano: 103-104, 127, 131
- San Martino, church: 103
Casale Graciani, see Gracciano
Casauria: 192, 200-201
- San Clemente, monastery: 192, 200
Cascio: 221-222
Caserta: 304
Casier: 130
- Santi Pietro, Paolo e Teonisto, coenobium: 130, 170
Cassu super Aniciano, see Cascio
Castello Aureo: 203
Castelnuovo di Garfagnana: 204
Cautana, see Caltana
Cautanella: 130
Ceneda: 167, 172
Centumcellae: 201, 265
Cerbaie, hills: 227
Certaldo: 204
Chalon-sur-Saône: 45, 56-59, 61-62, 100
Chartres: 259
Chioggia: 131
Chiusi: 19, 149, 192-194
Chur: 180, 248
Cingla: 304
- San Cassiano in Cingla, church: 304
Citiliano: 193-194
Città Leonina, see Leonine city
Cittanova: 17, 33, 73
Cividale del Friuli: 167, 169
Civitas Nova, see Cittanova
Civate: 109
- San Pietro, monastery: 109
Civitavecchia: 258, 260, 265, 201, 207
Clarino, river: 128
Claudia Augusta, road: 178
Cologne: 25
Cologno Monzese: 104, 124, 127, 132, 134
Colognora Valleriana: 218
- San Michele Arcangelo, church: 218
Comacchio: 282-283
Como: 24-25, 30, 73
Concorezzo: 104
Corbie, monastery: 50, 144, 150
Corteolona: 200
Costantinopole: 170, 283
Cona: 130
Concordia: 167, 181
Constance, lake: 167, 173-175
Controne: 219
- Santa Giulia, church: 219
Conza: 295-296, 298
Coriano: 198
Cornio, see Borgo al Cornio
Corsicans: 258, 264
Cremona: 33, 35, 146-148, 281

Culonia, see Colognora Valleriana
Cune: 222
Cunuclu: 201

Dalmatia: 168
Daugendorf: 168

Emilia: 20, 34, 147, 155
Emilia Romagna: 314
Ernstein, monastery: 53-54
Erbé: 35, 173, 178, 183, 193
Este: 276

Faenza: 278-281, 284
Falagrine: 29, 33
Farfa: 25, 32-33, 144, 195, 201, 243, 249, 250
- Santa Maria, monastery: 195, 201
Feltre: 167
Feroniano, see Frignano
Ferrara: 273, 275-277
Finalibus: 128
Fleury: 152, 163
Florence: 30, 90, 199, 202-203, 205-206, 222
- Sant'Andrea, monastery: 199, 202
Fontebona: 199
Fontenoy: 73, 169, 180
Forlì: 278
Forum Iulii, see Cividale
Francia/France/Frankia: 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 152-153, 168, 174-175, 194, 201, 280
Frankfurt: 172, 174
Frisilone: 84
Franci, see Franks
Franks: 25, 34, 38, 79, 103, 125, 168, 176-177, 183, 203, 226, 243, 250, 252, 269, 273-274, 276, 286, 297, 315, 316
Freising: 19
Frignano: 192-194
Friuli: 17-18, 65, 73, 155, 161, 163, 165, 168-172, 174, 181-182, 313, 318
Friulians: 169
Fulda, monastery: 165, 175

Gaetans: 261
Gambararia, canal: 128
Gazzo: 178
- Santa Maria, monastery: 178
Genoa: 30
Gnignano: 106, 120-121, 127
Gondreville: 19, 52, 55, 72-74, 86, 98, 171-172, 180-182; 195
Gracciano: 192, 194
Grado: 169
Greeks: 252, 265, 268
Grezzana: 177
- San Martino, church: 177
Grignano: 132
Guamo: 220, 222
Gundulfo, see Gondreville

Hasbanio, pagus: 49
Hildesheim: 25
Hirsau, monastery: 26, 176
Hisiano, curtis: 200
Hune, river: 128

Imola: 280, 284
Istria: 21
Italy: 2-5, 11, 13-14, 16-20, 22-24, 26-27, 29-30, 38, 50, 52-55, 57, 59, 62, 64-65, 72, 75, 79, 83-84, 95-99, 102-104, 106-107, 109-110, 112-113, 121, 128, 141, 143-150, 154-155, 161, 163-164, 166-167, 169, 173-174, 181, 191, 194-195, 197-198, 201, 203, 207, 218-219, 226, 243, 246, 273-274, 276, 280-284, 290, 294-295, 306, 311, 314-315, 318
- Byzantine Italy: 311, 317
- Carolingian Italy/Carolingian Kingdom of Italy: 241-242, 285, 312
- Central Italy: 243, 277, 295
- Italic Kingdom: 311, 316, 318
- Lombard Italy, Lombard kingdom, regnum Langobardorum: 143, 163-164, 241, 290, 294, 303
- Lombard Southern Italy: 289-291, 293, 295, 298-301, 303-306
- Regnum of Italy/regnum Italiae: 164, 169-170, 175, 180, 213, 277, 285, 316
- Southern Italy: 292, 295, 298-299, 301-302, 305
Ivrea: 25, 196, 198

Jesi: 199, 201

Kärnten, see Carinthia
Kievermunt: 49

Lambro, river: 124, 134
Langobardi, see Lombards
Lavaix: 75
Leggiuno: 37
- San Siro, church: 37
Leno: 179
- San Benedetto, monastery: 179
Leopolis, see Civitavecchia
Lessini, mountains: 177
Limonta: 52, 54
Locate: 22, 55
Lodi: 181
Lombards: 26, 173, 179, 244, 250, 253, 274, 277, 285, 292, 311, 315-316
Lombardy: 83, 106-107, 113, 145, 155, 181, 318
Longobardia minor: 317
Lucca: 17-19, 21, 23-26, 28-29, 31, 32-34, 36, 78, 81, 83-84, 86-88, 90-91, 144, 147, 176, 191-192, 195, 197-200, 202-207, 213, 215, 217-230, 313
- Porta San Gervasio: 222
- San Donato, church: 228
- San Frediano, church: 205, 220

- San Martino, cathedral: 220
- San Michele in Foro/San Michele Arcangelo, church: 18, 23, 205, 222
- San Pietro Somaldi, church: 205
- San Silvestro, church: 204-205
- Santa Giulia, church: 222
- Sant'Anastasio, church: 220
- Santi Benedetto e Scolastica, church: 36
Lucera: 296, 298
Lunata: 223-225, 230
- San Frediano, church: 224-225
Luni: 33, 88-89, 198, 203-204
Lutirano: 279
Luva, canal: 128
Lyon: 48, 55

Macritula/Macretula: 220, 222
Mainz: 175, 180
Malles: 318
- San Benedetto, church: 318
Mantaille: 55
Mantua: 28, 33, 85, 163, 167, 169, 170-172, 314
Maremma: 206
Marengo: 52, 74, 100, 148
Margarita: 201
Mariano: 201
Marlenheim: 55
Maruni: 177
- San Donato, oratory: 177
Massino, monastery: 75
Meda: 104
- S. Vittore, church: 104
Mediterranean, sea: 135, 283
Merlara: 131
Mestre: 170
- iuxta Sancti Martini marginem: 170
Metz: 175
Milan: 22, 28-29, 33, 35, 54, 83-84, 88, 90, 96, 102-107, 109, 112, 119-121, 124, 126-129, 131-134, 144-145, 180
- Maggiore, monastery: 104-105
- San Vincenzo in Prato, monastery: 105-107, 112
- Santa Maria Podonis/Santa Maria di Cinque vie, church: 37
- Sant'Ambrogio, monastery: 20, 52, 96-97, 102-107, 112, 120-121, 127, 131-132, 134
Metz: 55
Mira: 125
Modena: 17, 19, 22, 33, 72, 154, 156, 199, 314
Molise: 304
Monaciatico: 217
Monselice: 130
Montalcino: 194, 207
Monte Amiata: 192, 201
Monte Cassino, monastery: 291-293, 295, 303-305
Montefeltrano: 283
Montepulciano: 192, 194, 207
Monte Morello: 205
Monte Rosano: 201
Monte Sant'Angelo: 300
Monticlo: 225
Monza: 22, 55
- San Giovanni, church: 22, 37
Mugello: 203-204, 207
- Santa Maria, church: 203
Musestre: 170
Muslims: 149, 289-290, 300-301

Nantes: 21, 26
Naples: 266, 316
Neapolitans: 261, 301
Neufchâteau-sur-Amblève: 55
Nijmegen: 18, 171
Nocera: 305
Nonantola, monastery: 25, 96-97, 147, 167
Norcia: 29, 32
Novalesa: 25, 36
- San Pietro, monastery: 36, 303
Novara: 25, 81, 85, 87, 198-199

Octabo: 104
Olona: 167, 200
Opava: 278
Orléans: 19, 48, 145, 164-165, 174
Orte: 260, 267
Orvieto: 192
Ostia: 203, 251, 260-262, 264
- San Lorenzo in Castello Aureo, church: 203
- Santa Maria domine Rose, church: 203
Ostiglia: 147, 169-170, 173

Padova, see Padua
Padua: 2, 124, 167-168, 172
- Santa Giustina, monastery: 168
Palme: 30, 200
Pantanola, curtis: 200
Pao, curtis: 200
Parma: 20, 22, 26, 72, 76-79, 84-87, 146-149, 154, 281
- Sant'Alessandro, monastery: 22, 37
Pavia: 3, 25, 31-32, 35, 37-38, 45, 52, 62-64, 72, 98-103, 107, 112-113, 125, 132, 144, 148, 156, 171, 175, 193, 200, 202, 250, 314
- Marenca, city gate: 101
- San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, monastery: 25
- Santa Agata, monastery: 98, 101
- Santa Maria del Senatore, monastery: 101
- Santa Maria Teodota/Theodota/Teodote, monastery: 45, 62-64, 78, 98-103, 112-113
Persia: 171
Pescia: 84
Petriolo, curtis: 130-131
Pfäfers, monastery: 164-165
Piacenza: 20, 25-26, 28, 32, 72, 84, 88, 154, 314
- San Sisto, monastery: 147
Piave, river: 170, 172
Piedmont: 155

Pisa: 2, 34, 78, 83, 198, 204, 217, 227
Pistoia: 24, 31, 203-204, 206, 227, 316
Pladanum, curtis: 125
Po, plain: 121, 124, 126, 146, 155
Po, river: 100, 102, 147-148, 169-170, 177-178
Po, valley: 29-30, 99
Pollione: 111
Pontignano: 226
- Sant'Albano, church: 226
Porto: 251, 260-261, 264
Portus, see Porto
Pozzuolo sul Mincio: 85
Prato: 206
Promia monasterium: see Prüm
Provence: 156
Prüm, monastery: 55, 174, 278, 284
Puster, valley: 172

Radolfzell, monastery: 167, 174
Ravenna: 5, 15, 52, 84, 86-88, 148-149, 154, 199, 268, 273-286, 316, 318,
- San Severo, church: 280
- Sant'Apollinare, church: 281
Reggio Emilia: 17, 19, 22, 31, 72, 78, 84-85, 154, 199
Remiremont: 49, 53, 73, 196
Regnum Italiae, see Italy
Regnum Langobardorum, see Italy
Reichenau, monastery: 36, 109-110, 144, 164-167, 171-173, 175, 180, 195
Revere: 85
Rhaetia: 164-165, 173, 180, 182
Rheims: 25, 53, 247, 250, 261, 263
Rhine, river: 174-175, 180
Rhône, river: 61, 68
Rialto: 130
Ribagorça: 75
Ries: 181
Rieti: 29, 32, 201
Rimini: 283
Ripoli: 206
Riva di Mestre: 171
Romagna: 281-282
Romans: 205, 246, 250, 252-253, 261, 263, 264
Rome: 5, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 32, 54, 149-150, 154, 175, 181, 189, 194-196, 198-202, 204-205, 207, 241-246, 248-251, 252-253, 259-261, 265-266, 268-269, 275, 277, 279-280, 285, 303, 316-318
- Castel Sant'Angelo: 259
- Lateran/Lateran Palace: 204-205, 244, 247, 249, 253, 265, 266
- Leonine City/Civitas Leoniana: 201, 204-205, 207, 248, 260, 262-263
- Leonine Wall: 194, 201
- San Pietro, basilica: 248, 252, 259, 260, 265
- San Pietro, wall: 261
- Vatican: 258, 26
Roncevaux: 279
Ronco all'Adige: 131
Ronta, curtis: 203
Roselle: 202
Rosita: 297
Rovereto: 179
Rovigo: 149, 281
Rufano/Rofano, curtis: 196-197, 200
- San Pietro, church: 200
Runcore: 120
Ruga, ditch: 128

Saba: 297
Sabina/Sabine: 144, 249-250
Sabbione: 86
Saccione, river: 304
Saint-Maurice of Agaune: 75
Salerno: 289, 291-292, 298, 305-306, 317
Sala Bolognese: 73
San Bartolomeo in Ripoli: 206
San Canziano d'Isonzo: 165
- Santa Maria, monastery: 165, 172
San Martino alla Palma: 200
San Quirico, church: 228
San Salvatore del Monte Amiata, monastery: 25-26, 192-193, 201
San Salvatore in Fontebona, monastery: 199
San Servolo, island: 125
San Vincenzo al Volturno, monastery: 293, 299, 303-305
San Vito: 222
Sancto Iusto: 26
Sankt Gallen, monastery: 164-165, 168, 174-175, 180-181
Sankt Paul in Lavanttal, monastery: 33, 314
Santa Maria on the Sieve, church: 204
Santa Maria a Monte: 224-225
- Santa Maria, church: 224-227, 229, 230
Sant'Antimo, monastery: 19
Sant'Ilario, monastery: 122, 125-126, 128-129, 133
Saône, river: 56, 61
Saracens: 169, 194, 243, 258-259, 261-263, 265-266, 314
Sardinia: 259
Saronno: 35
Scalarico: 203
Scandicci: 200
Scragio: 225
- San Michele, church: 225
Sei Miglia, area near Lucca: 29
Sena: 29
Seprio: 20-30, 83, 90, 107, 112
Septimania: 56, 100, 147, 152, 154, 174
Seuco, river: 128
Seville: 62
Sexpilas, see Sospiro
Sezano: 37, 177, 183
- San Lorenzo, church/monastery: 37
- Santa Sofia, church: 177
Sicily: 283

Sicopolis: 298
Siena: 30-32, 84, 86-90, 149, 192-194, 199, 202, 205, 227
- comitatus: 196
Sieve, river: 204
Sile, river: 170-171
Silva Candida: 247
Silva Carbonaria: 63, 100
Slavs: 169
Soissons: 63
- Saint Medard, church: 63
Sospiro, curtis: 146-147
Sovana: 84, 202
Speyer: 180
Spoletans: 292
Spoleto: 20-22, 24-26, 29-31, 46, 144-145, 195-196, 199-200, 251, 314
Stabio: 75
Stazzona: 20
Stornapietra/Stornapetra: 129-130
Storpetho: 130
Strasbourg: 168, 180
Sumirago: 105-107
- S. Maria e S. Lorenzo, church: 105

Taranto: 305
Tartaro, river: 178
Teramo: 22, 24
Tercio: 129
Teutisci: 179
Thionville: 49, 180
Ticino, river: 63, 100, 102
Tolla: 25
- San Salvatore, monastery: 25
Tortona: 17, 25, 174
Toul: 55
Tours: 22, 37, 49, 61, 100, 174, 179, 246, 314
Trentino: 163
Trento: 2, 29, 167, 179
Treviso: 130, 133, 163, 167, 170-171
- San Martino, casa: 129
- Tarvisiani portus: 171
Trientam/Trientum, see Trento
Turin: 25, 87, 281
Toringo/Turingo, vicus: 224
Tuscania, see Tuscany
Tuscany: 14-18, 24, 26, 149, 168, 189, 192-193, 195, 198-202, 205, 206, 215, 227, 243, 250-251, 313
Tuscia, see Tuscany

Urlau: 175

Utrecht: 54
Uzès: 57, 152

Valdelsa: 204
Valdiserchio: 222
Valfreddana: 222
Valentano: 201
Valenzano: 110-111
Valeriana: 84, 89
Valle di Acereta, see Acereta
Valpantena: 167, 177-178, 183
Valtellina: 19
Valva: 38
Varesotto: 105
Vecchiano: 205
Venena, curtis: 200
Venetia: 164, 169, 172
Venetians: 125
Venetian duchy: 170
Venetian lagoon: 124-125, 169-171
Veneto: 161, 163-164, 166-172, 181, 313
Venice: 2, 119, 121-122, 124, 126-129, 131-133, 135, 282, 316, 317-318
- San Zaccaria, monastery: 124-125, 128, 130, 133
Venosa: 199
Ver-sur-Launette: 171
Vercelli: 19-20, 25, 73, 175
Verdun: 14, 17, 19, 73, 181, 195-196, 200, 226
Verona: 17, 21, 24-26, 28, 35, 39, 73, 80-81, 89, 104, 109-110, 125, 131, 147, 161, 165-173, 175-179, 181-183, 193, 195-197, 315
- Porta Organi: 179
- Porta Sancti Zenonis/Porta Borsari: 176
- San Zeno, monastery: 35, 130, 169-171, 173-174, 178-179, 183
- Santa Maria in Organo, monastery: 35, 119, 169; 175-176; 179, 183
- schola sacerdotum: 35
Vetriano: 222
Vetruniana: 78
Vicenza: 163, 167-168, 182-183
Vigolzone: 32
Villa Basilica: 84, 87
Viterbo: 201
Vittorio Veneto, see Ceneda
Volpino, river: 129
Volterra: 30, 90, 198, 203, 227

Worms: 173

Zürich: 165

Reti Medievali E-Book*

1. Renato Bordone, *Uno stato d'animo. Memoria del tempo e comportamenti urbani nel mondo comunale italiano*, 2002 (E-Book Monografie, 1)
2. *"Le storie e la memoria". In onore di Arnold Esch*, a cura di Roberto Delle Donne, Andrea Zorzi, 2002 (E-Book Reading, 1)
3. Marina Gazzini, *"Dare et habere". Il mondo di un mercante milanese del Quattrocento*, 2002 (E-Book Monografie, 2)
4. *Papato e monachesimo "esente" nei secoli centrali del Medioevo*, a cura di Nicolangelo D'Acunto, 2003 (E-Book Reading, 2)
5. Paola Guglielmotti, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio nella Liguria medievale*, 2005 (E-Book Monografie, 3)
6. *Alto medioevo mediterraneo*, a cura di Stefano Gasparri, 2005 (E-Book Reading, 3)
7. *Poteri signorili e feudali nelle campagne dell'Italia settentrionale fra Tre e Quattrocento: fondamenti di legittimità e forme di esercizio*, a cura di Federica Cengarle, Giorgio Chittolini, Gian Maria Varanini, 2005 (Quaderni di RM Rivista, 1)
8. *Ebrei nella Terraferma veneta del Quattrocento*, a cura di Gian Maria Varanini, Reinhold C. Mueller, 2005 (Quaderni di RM Rivista, 2)
9. Giovanna Petti Balbi, *Governare la città. Pratiche sociali e linguaggi politici a Genova in età medievale*, 2007 (E-Book Monografie, 4)
10. Giovanni Tabacco, *Medievistica del Novecento. Recensioni e note di lettura (1951-1999)*, a cura di Paola Guglielmotti, 2007 (E-Book Monografie, 5)
11. *Le signorie dei Rossi di Parma tra XIV e XVI secolo*, a cura di Letizia Arcangeli, Marco Gentile, 2007 (E-Book Quaderni, 6)
12. *Studi confraternali: orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze*, a cura di Marina Gazzini, 2009 (E-Book Quaderni, 7)
13. Isabella Lazzarini, *Il linguaggio del territorio fra principe e comunità. Il giuramento di fedeltà a Federico Gonzaga (Mantova 1479)*, 2009 (E-Book Monografie, 6)
14. *Conflitti, paci e vendette nell'Italia comunale*, a cura di Andrea Zorzi, 2009 (E-Book Quaderni, 8)
15. *Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini. Europe and Italy. Studies in honour of Giorgio Chittolini*, 2011 (E-Book Quaderni, 9)
16. Giovanni Tabacco, *La relazione fra i concetti di potere temporale e di potere spirituale nella tradizione cristiana fino al secolo XIV*, a cura di Laura Gaffuri, 2010
17. Roberto Delle Donne, *Burocrazia e fisco a Napoli tra XV e XVI secolo. La Camera della Sommaria e il* Repertorium alphabeticum solutionum fiscalium Regni Siciliae Cisfretanae, 2012
18. Mario Marrocchi, *Monaci scrittori. San Salvatore al Monte Amiata tra Impero e Papato (secoli VIII-XIII)*, 2014

* La collana "Reti Medievali E-Book" riunisce le precedenti collane "E-Book Monografie", "E-Book Quaderni", "E-Book Reading" e "Quaderni di RM Rivista" recuperandone la numerazione complessiva.

19. Honos alit artes. *Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Ascheri*, a cura di Paola Maffei e Gian Maria Varanini, I. *La formazione del diritto comune*, II. *Gli universi particolari*, III. *Il cammino delle idee dal medioevo all'età moderna*, IV. *L'età moderna e contemporanea*, 2014
20. Francesco Bianchi, *Ospedali e politiche assistenziali a Vicenza nel Quattrocento*, 2014
21. *Venice and the Veneto during the Renaissance: the Legacy of Benjamin Kohl*, Edited by Michael Knapton, John E. Law, Alison A. Smith, 2014
22. Denise Bezzina, *Artigiani a Genova nei secoli XII-XIII*, 2015
23. *La diocesi di Bobbio. Formazione e sviluppi di un'istituzione millenaria*, a cura di Eleonora Destefanis e Paola Guglielmotti, 2015
24. *Il ducato di Filippo Maria Visconti, 1412-1447. Economia, politica, cultura*, a cura di Federica Cengarle e Maria Nadia Covini, 2015
25. *Per Enzo. Studi in memoria di Enzo Matera*, a cura di Lidia Capo e Antonio Ciaralli, 2015
26. Alfio Cortonesi e Susanna Passigli, *Agricoltura e allevamento nell'Italia medievale. Contributo bibliografico, 1950-2010*, 2016
27. Ermanno Orlando, *Medioevo, fonti, editoria. La Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie (1873-1900)*, 2016
28. Gianmarco De Angelis, *«Raccogliere, pubblicare, illustrare carte». Editori ed edizioni di documenti medievali in Lombardia tra Otto e Novecento*, 2017
29. Alessio Fiore, *Il mutamento signorile. Assetti di potere e comunicazione politica nelle campagne dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (1080-1130 c.)*, 2017
30. Marina Gazzini, *Storie di vita e di malavita. Criminali, poveri e altri miserabili nelle carceri di Milano alla fine del medioevo*, 2017
31. *Clarisas y dominicas. Modelos de implantación, filiación, promoción y devoción en la Península Ibérica, Cerdeña, Nápoles y Sicilia*, Edición de Gemma-Teresa Colesanti, Blanca Garí y Núria Jornet-Benito, 2017
32. *Predicazione e sistemi giuridici nell'Occidente medievale / Preaching and legal Frameworks in the Middle Ages*, a cura di Laura Gaffuri e Rosa Maria Parrinello, 2018
33. *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie. Archivi e ricerca storica nell'Ottocento italiano (1840-1880)*, a cura di Andrea Giorgi, Stefano Moscadelli, Gian Maria Varanini, Stefano Vitali, 2019
34. Paolo Tomei, Milites elegantes. *Le strutture aristocratiche nel territorio lucchese (800-1100 c.)*, 2019
35. *Il carteggio tra Luigi Schiaparelli e Carlo Cipolla (1894-1916)*, a cura di Antonio Olivieri, 2020
36. *The Dominicans and the Making of Florentine Cultural Identity (13th-14th centuries) / I domenicani e la costruzione dell'identità culturale fiorentina (secoli XIII-XIV)*, ed. by Johannes Bartuschat, Elisa Brilli, Delphine Carron, 2020
37. Luigi Provero, *Dalla guerra alla pace. L'Arazzo di Bayeux e la conquista normanna dell'Inghilterra (secolo XI)*, 2020
38. *La signoria rurale nell'Italia del tardo medioevo*, 2, *Archivi e poteri feudali nel Mezzogiorno (secoli XIV-XVI)*, a cura di Francesco Senatore, 2021
39. *La signoria rurale nell'Italia del tardo medioevo*, 3, *L'azione politica locale*, a cura di Alessio Fiore, Luigi Provero, 2021
40. *«Fiere vicende dell'età di mezzo». Studi per Gian Maria Varanini*, a cura di Paola Guglielmotti, Isabella Lazzarini, 2021
41. *Networks of bishops, networks of texts. Manuscripts, legal cultures, tools of government in Carolingian Italy at the time of Lothar I*, edited by Gianmarco De Angelis, Francesco Veronese, 2022 (Ruling in hard times, 1)
42. Attilio Stella, *Ai margini del contado. Terra, signoria ed* élites *locali a Sabbion e nel territorio di Cologna Veneta (secoli XII-XIII)*, 2022
43. *Between Ostrogothic and Carolingian Italy. Survivals, revivals, ruptures*, edited by Fabrizio Oppedisano, 2022 (Ruling in hard times, 2)

44. *La signoria rurale nell'Italia del tardo medioevo*, 6, *Le signorie trentine*, a cura di Marco Bettotti, Gian Maria Varanini, con la collaborazione di Franco Cagol, Italo Franceschini, 2023
45. *La signoria rurale nell'Italia del tardo medioevo*, 4, *Quadri di sintesi e nuove prospettive di ricerca*, a cura di Sandro Carocci, 2023
46. Elena Corniolo, *Pratiche di appropriazione e delimitazione del sacro. Le visite pastorali alla diocesi di Aosta (XV secolo)*, 2023
47. *Storiografie italiane del XII secolo. Contesti di scrittura, elaborazione e uso in una prospettiva comparata*, a cura di Alberto Cotza e Markus Krumm, 2024
48. *Carolingian Frontiers: Italy and Beyond,* ed. by. Maddalena Betti, Francesco Borri, Stefano Gasparri, 2024 (Ruling in hard times, 3)
49. *Political Landscapes in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Iñaki Martín Viso, 2024
50. *Local Societies and Peasantry Agencies in Medieval Iberia*, ed. by Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo, 2025
51. Daniel L. Smail, *Cartografie immaginarie. Mappare il possesso e l'identità nella Marsiglia bassomedievale*, 2025
52. *Socio-Economic Inequalities during the Conjuncture of the Fourteenth Century: Sources and Methods, Dynamics and Representations (Italy and Europe, c. 1270-c. 1350)*, ed. by Davide Cristoferi, 2025
53. *Aristocratic networks. Elites and social dynamics in the age of Lothar I*, ed. by Giuseppe Albertoni, Manuel Fauliri, Leonardo Sernagiotto (Ruling in hard times, 4), 2025

ARISTOCRATIC NETWORKS. ELITES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN ITALY IN THE AGE OF LOTHAR I

This volume collects the proceedings of a conference held at the Department of Humanities of the University of Trento from 13 to 15 October 2022, as part of the initiatives of the PRIN 2017 project *Ruling in hard times. Patterns of power and practices of government in the making of Carolingian Italy*. Based on an analysis of the lexicon of sources and some case studies, the essays collected here intend to reconstruct the forms of political and social prominence and the networks that connected – or opposed – those who, at different levels, exercised forms of power and control over people and territories. The aim of the book is to reveal the web that linked the different levels of elites in the age of Lothar, a web that has often remained invisible.

Giuseppe Albertoni is Full Professor of Medieval History at the University of Trento. His main research interests concern the Carolingian world and early medieval societies.

Manuel Fauliri is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Trento. His research interests focus on the role played by the *beneficium* in the kingdom of Italy between the 8th and 10th centuries and on social and economic dynamics in medieval Italy.

Leonardo Sernagiotto was awarded his PhD at the University of Trento for his work on the Emperor Lothar I (795–855), based on a new analysis of historical and narrative sources. His research interests also concern Italian society in the Lombard and Carolingian periods.

ISSN 2704-6362 (print)
ISSN 2704-6079 (online)
ISBN 979-12-215-0770-6 (Print)
ISBN 979-12-215-0771-3 (PDF)
ISBN 979-12-215-0772-0 (ePUB)
ISBN 979-12-215-0773-7 (XML)
DOI 10.36253/979-12-215-0771-3
www.fupress.com